

Roman Conversations ;
O R,
HISTORICAL EXERCISES:
Being some of the
PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS
IN THE
ROMAN HISTORY,

(The Subjects of fix Weeks Conversation at or near *Rome*)

Compiled for the Use of Places of EDUCATION,
particularly WESTMINSTER-SCHOOL.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :

Sold by W. SANDBY, at the *Ship*, opposite St. *Dunstan's*
Church, *Fleet-Street*; and B. BARKER, at the *College*
Arms, near the King's School, *Westminster*.

M.DCC.LXIII.

Roman Conventions;
 OR
 HISTORICAL EXERCISES;
 IN THE
 PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS
 OF THE
 ROMAN HISTORY.

(The Subjects of the Exercises are taken from the
 principal Events of Roman History, and are adapted for the
 use of Schools, and for the instruction of young Gentlemen.)



Vol. II.

LONDON.

Printed by W. Bland, at the Sign of the Anchor, in Strand, near the King's School, & by
 G. G. & J. H. Bland, at the Sign of the Anchor, in Strand, near the King's School, & by
 J. H. Bland, at the Sign of the Anchor, in Strand, near the King's School, & by

MILCOLETT.

Utility
 they u
 proper
 Book
 among
 vellers,
 thin-
 in one

THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
SECOND VOLUME.

IT has been suggested by some Persons, (probably too partial in their Favour to the Design of this Work) that perhaps these Papers, besides being of some Utility in these Places of Education, for which they were originally compiled, might also not improperly be considered as a Kind of Travelling Book; and as such, might perhaps find Room among the Baggage of some young British Travellers, going to Rome: especially as these two thin Volumes may so easily be bound together in one.

The Compilers must not flatter themselves with the Expectations of such an Honour: This Work was intended for the Use of Children, and not of Men. If however, by Chance, this should ever happen to be the Case, it is hoped that those Gentlemen will pardon the Faults and Defects of this Work, which will then and there appear (it is feared) ~~A~~ very visible to them.

As to what they may find rightly represented in these Papers, the Merit of it is to be attributed to several of our Countrymen now resident at Rome; and also, in a particular Manner, to the learned ABATE VENUTI, Antiquarian to the Sovereign of that Country. In general indeed, it may most justly be said, that whatever Part of the Antiquities of Rome is in either of these Volumes rightly represented, it is only copied from the Instructions of that most learned Gentleman; and that, whatever is here misrepresented, it has been occasioned by (through Forgetfulness,*

* ABATE VENUTI is at this Time publishing at Rome, in two Volumes Quarto, his excellent Description of the Antiquities of that famous City; adorned with upwards of fourscore small Copper Plates.

THE PREFACE.

getfulness, or some other Cause) not having with sufficient Exactness followed his Directions.

But there is another Consideration of a different, very different, nature; which ought most frequently to have suggested itself to the Compilers during their carrying on this Work. At every fresh Page, and still more at the Entrance of this Second Volume, how deeply indeed ought they to have been struck with the Consciousness of their own great Unworthiness for being the Compilers of those exalted Precepts and Sentiments, which may be found here transcribed from the noblest Authors? What Excuse can be made for this so great Impropropriety? What can they say on this Subject?

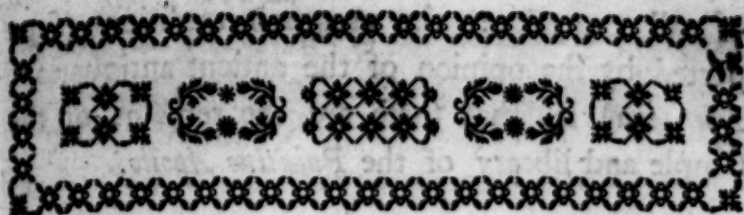
They can say this only, That as their cordial Wishes in this Work (which Wishes, it is hoped, breathe with all Sincerity through every Line of it) were only, that the Doctrines and Examples here described might thus, in some Degree, be not unuseful to their Young Reader: So on the other Hand, they have the greatest Reason humbly to desire (in Return) the Wishes of all those, who ever may condescend to look on these Papers, that
they

they (the Compilers) may diligently themselves attend to the Lessons, which they have here collected or transcribed for the Use of others; and that they (the Compilers) may regulate their own future Lives accordingly; always remembering, that it is never too late in Life for any Person to endeavour to be doing some Kind of Good, according to the utmost of his Power.

6 AU63

HISTORICAL

work of
the Pa
Vol



HISTORICAL EXERCISES:

Being some of the

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

IN THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

TWENTIETH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IN the large and romantic gardens of the *English* college, on the southern summit of the *Palatine* hill, stands a great groupe of stately ruins, (by far the greatest work of antiquity now remaining in any part of the *Palatine*) intermingled with several small groves

VOL. II.

A

of

of tall cypresses: the common tradition (supported by the opinion of the antient antiquarian, *Marliano*) is, that these are the remains of the temple and library of the *Palatine Apollo*.

It was hither that this *English* company ascended with the greatest pleasure. They had now advanced in the *Roman* history as far as to the *Augustan* age; and had chosen the amiable character of *VIRGIL* for the subject of their conversation on this spot, as that of *Cicero* was in the gardens near the *Rostra*, on the northern part of the same hill. After having for some time surveyed from this lofty situation that most magnificent scene of antiquities which appears from thence in the prospect on all sides, they sat down at the end of that neighbouring cypress walk, which hangs over the *Circus Maximus* *. Here *Crito's* pupil read to the company those lines at the end of the eighth *Æneid*, in which the splendor of *Rome*, in the *Augustan* age, is so magnificently described;

* *Addison*, in his *Travels*, speaks of a very curious antique medallion, the reverse of which has on it the *Circus Maximus*, and a view of this side of the *Palatine* hill, which faces it; on which are seen several edifices, and among the rest the famous temple of *Apollo*, that has still a considerable ruin standing.

It is supposed by the most exact antiquarians, that the circular ruin here spoken of is not the library, but part of the *Hemicyclium*, in which were performed the musical games in honour of the *Palatine Apollo*.

scribed *; he observed at the same time with great pleasure, that they were now perhaps sitting on the very spot in which *Virgil* thus describes *Augustus* so nobly, as it were, enthroned; in the white *Parian* marble portico of the *Hemicyclium* of *Apollo*, (built by that emperor with so much magnificence, on this part of the *Palatine* hill) from which so great an extent of the grand capital of his empire, and so noble a prospect of all the triumphal processions, whether coming from the *Euphrates* or *Rhine*, might be seen at once to the greatest advantage †. From this extensive and pompous prospect the company turned their eyes to the solemn and awful ruins of the adjoining *Hemicyclium* and temple; ruins in some places towering as high as the heads of the cypress grove; in other places, where the ground had given way, vast subterranean vaults and arches discovering themselves to a great depth. In the

A 2

words

- *At Cæsar triplici invehctus Romana triumpho*
Mænia, Dīs Italīs votum immortalē sacrabat,
Maxima tercentum totam delubra per urbem.
Lætitiā, ludisque viæ, plausuque fremebant;
Omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus aræ.
Ante aras terram cæsi stravere juvenci.
Ipse, sedens niveo candentis limine Phœbi,
Dona recognoscit populorum, aptatque superbis
Postibus: incedunt viæ longō ordine gentes;
Quam variæ linguis, habitu tam vestis, &c.

Æneid. viii.

† Vide Introduction to the life of *Flaminius*.

words of *Milton's Penseroso* (perhaps wrote by him during his *Italian* travels on this very hill) the young gentlemen invoked *the unseen genius* of this place, to *breathe* to them now some *sweet music*,

Above, around, or underneath.

But no genius of the grove answering to this invocation, no sound of the harp of *Apollo* being heard from any of the deep recesses of these ruins, they were obliged to comfort themselves with reading some more passages in *Virgil*; some particularly which they remembered to have read in *Lombardy* some months before with peculiar pleasure, while rowing in their boat down the river *Mincio*, and around the lake of *Mantua*. At length the air growing very hot, it was proposed to adjourn, for the remainder of this morning, to the cool apartments of the *Vatican*, to that apartment particularly, which is adorned with the picture of mount *Parnassus*, by *Raphael*.

THAT room indeed is as it were a noble temple dedicated to the principal sciences of the human mind, theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and poetry. The cieling is adorned with four figures representing these four sciences: under each of which, the walls are entirely covered with large pictures correspondent to the same subjects; all by the

the hand of *Raphael*. The first on entering the room is that sweet introduction to all sciences, mount *Parnassus*. In this picture, after some search, they found the beautiful, though retired, figure of *Virgil*, close by the *Muses*, on the summit of the mount; followed by the principal poets of modern *Italy*; but himself modestly giving place to the majestic *Homer*, to whose song *Clio* is listening, and *Apollo* himself attuning his lyre.

It is remarkable, that *Raphael* (who, by the flowery *Italian* historians, himself is said to have always lived among all the arts and sciences on mount *Parnassus*) has here represented his own figure closely attendant on that of *Virgil*. This circumstance was the occasion, that the conversation now turned on the similitude and (to use *Plutarch's* phrase) the parallelism of these two great characters in sister arts: when one of the young gentlemen informed the company, that he had been lately favoured with a copy of a life of *Raphael*, drawn up by an *English* gentleman, resident at *Rome*, a

Mr.
Jenkins.

picture of the schools of *Athens*, and gave their most willing attention to the following paper.

RAPHAEL D'URBIN.

THERE is scarce a more pleasing and noble object (especially to all real philanthropists) than to see a person come into the world blessed with a favourable disposition and genius by nature, and to find also every circumstance of his life concur for the bringing to perfection what she has so kindly given.

RAPHAEL d'URBINO (who seems to have been as strong an example of this, as is to be met with in the history of any age or nation) was doubtless born with a most uncommon genius; but he was also at least equally fortunate in the first and principal blessing in life, that is, in having the best of fathers: a father, who was most deeply convinced that the prosperity of his son totally depended on his good education, and who gave the most constant attention worthily to execute that great work of a parent's life. For this purpose we see him beginning his care of his child even from the first day of his birth, having a regard to the breast that was to nourish him, which he took care to be that of his most tender and loving

Book iv. HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

7

loving mother; a woman of the most gentle disposition. Afterwards, during the first years of his life, he carefully took all opportunities gradually to instruct him in every thing of which so tender an age was capable; and, in particular, paid the utmost regard to the customs and dispositions of those children, with whom his son made any acquaintance. During this time young *Raphael* gave every day fresh marks of the sweetest, most amiable temper; joined to which, appeared (completely to bless his good parents) a natural inclination for the study of painting, (which art was the profession of his father) and sufficient proofs of a great genius for it. It was on this motive that this modest parent, being convinced of his own inability to render him such assistance as was necessary, made application to *Pietro Perugino*, the most esteemed painter of that age, and had the good fortune to prevail on him to take this young scholar under his care.

THE amiableness of *Raphael's* temper, and his promising abilities as an artist, soon gained him the affection of his master; whose instructions he received with so much attention, that in a very short time he imitated his manner so well, that it could with great difficulty be distinguished which was the master. The stile or manner of *Pietro Perugino* was the most diligent imitation of nature;

mixed indeed with the stiffness of the preceeding ages: but to this was added a degree of gracefulness, which was to *Raphael* of the greatest importance, as it gave an opening to that part of his genius. Thus we find him, yet in the early part of his life, to have advanced in his profession by the most sure and solid principles of industry; which, even to *Raphael* himself, was necessary to enable him to attain afterwards with facility the remaining requisites of his art.

HAVING now acquired all the advantage that he could hope for from *Perugino*, and hearing of the fame of *Michael Angelo*, and *Leonardo da Vinci*, he resolved to make a journey to *Florence*, to see and study the works of those great men.

IN *Michael Angelo* he saw a greatness of stile, that was totally opposite to the dryness of *Perugino*; and in *Leonardo da Vinci* a roundness and force of light and shadow, never before produced, at least since the revival of the arts. Being sensible of the excellencies of these two great masters, and knowing how necessary it was for him to profit by them, he laid aside every other consideration, and determined to give his whole attention to these objects; to which he accordingly applied with all possible diligence.

DURING

DURING this time, (as if fortune as well as nature had determined every thing for the perfection of this their favourite) *Raphael* made an acquaintance, which soon grew into a strict friendship, with *Fra. Bartholomeo di San Marco*. *Bartholomeo* possessed the only branch of painting, in which *Raphael* seemed to want any instructions, viz. That of a perfect knowledge of the quality and application of colours. But here let us pause a little and consider, how wonderful an example is this great man of that truth, that the finest genius cannot arrive at its full glory, without very industrious study, and also without the help of other men?

HAD it not been for the well-founded principles of diligence which *Raphael* received from *Pietro Perugino*, it is not impossible but the over-charged out-line of *Michael Angelo* might have misled him to a false stile of greatness: and the amiable strength of light and shadow of *Leonardo da Vinci*, which had not the truth of colouring with it, might have been equally dangerous for him; if this had not been most effectually prevented by the fortunate friendship of *Fra. Bartholomeo*.

WHAT a pleasure is it to see such a series of fortunate events unite, at a time when probably the greatest genius, that ever was, had the utmost occasion for every one of them? For it was now
that

that a most favourable occasion offered itself of disclosing to the world in full splendor all the strength of his talents. The surprizing genius and accomplishments of this wonderful young man (then about twenty-four years of age) having reached the ears of the then pope *Julius the II^d*, (a great lover of the finest arts) he sent for him, and assigned him immediate employment in the *Vatican*. *Raphael* was now at the crisis of his fortune; and the success of his first performance was so great, that the pope immediately discharged all the other painters, (though some of the best artists of the time) who were employed in adorning that most famous and sumptuous palace; excepting only *Michael Angelo*, who was then in the principal chapel carrying on the great work of his picture of the last judgment. The pope ordered also, that what these painters had already done, might be defaced, to make room for the works of *Raphael*; an order which this generous man opposed to the uttermost of his power; nay, even contrary to it, he caused some of the best of their works to remain; saying, it was but just that the world should see how much he had been beholden to those great men who went before him. Some of the figures on this very cieling are the works of *Pietro Perugino*, thus gratefully preserved by *Raphael*; and the two figures in the corner of this great and capital picture of the schools of *Athens*, (under which

which we are now sitting) are one of them the representation of *Raphael* himself, and the other (which is here, by *Raphael*, made the *superior* figure) that of his ever honoured master *Pietro Perugino*.

DURING the course of these his works in the *Vatican*, pope *Julius* the II^d died; but as if nothing was to stop the current of *Raphael's* greatness, *Leo* the Xth succeeded to the chair: a prince whose magnificent disposition led him to the patronage of the great men in all arts and in all sciences. He not only employed *Raphael* as a painter, but (as he was likewise an able architect) gave him the direction of all his superb buildings, particularly of the stupendous fabric of *St. Peter's*.

AT the same time *Raphael's* favour was solicited by all the great persons of *Europe*, who all even *prayed* to be made happy with something from his excellent hand: particularly *Francis* the Ist, then king of *France*, the father of his country, the patron of learning, the protector of all arts and sciences, in whose arms *Leonardo da Vinci* had died.

ALL these honours, which to a man of an inferior disposition might have produced pride or self-

self-sufficiency, in *Raphael* had quite a contrary effect. As he grew in reputation, we find him increase in affability and goodness to all around him; for such was the uncommon influence of his amiable temper, that all his disciples, (who were very numerous, and every one anxious for his own advancement) lived under his care in the most perfect harmony with each other: and so great was his generosity, that he was constantly ready to part even with the whole of his fortune to relieve the indigent and miserable. He was indeed a friend and a father to all, whosoever wanted his assistance, at any time, or on any occasion.

THE happy disposition of the mind of this great man is apparently visible in all his works; for as no one had ever a clearer conception for the composition of them, nor a warmer heart to give that truth of expression to each character; so also he always followed the dictates of his heart, by chusing his subject at that point of time, which admitted of the execution of the *most noble and amiable* passions. (As to every thing that regarded the mechanic part of his art, he was so much superior to it, that his works seem rather the production of an angel, than that of a mortal being.) For it is impossible to behold any one passion expressed by him, but the mind must be most

most sensibly affected by it; and the passions which he was constantly most fond of expressing, were those of the highest degrees of the warmest, most overflowing benevolence of heart, and of the most exalted, the most devoted piety: thus presenting to the view of all succeeding ages, the most moving lessons of the two great principles of our duty to GOD and man, in a manner not at all inferior either in force or dignity to that of the greatest historians, orators, or poets.

HAPPY would it have been if he had been equally great in the third great branch of moral duties, that of self-government or temperance! For as it would be endless to recount every particular of the excellence of *Raphael*, (and may these great and good parts of his character be not in vain thus set to our view for our instruction and benefit!) so it is likewise necessary to own his failings; in order the better to enable us to guard against them; and always to remember, that in the noblest fabric, one principal part being defective, how easily the whole may be ruined.

It is impossible to be acquainted with such a character as *Raphael*, without conceiving the greatest affection and veneration for it: how melancholy a reflection then is it, but at the same time how *useful a lesson to us*, to think that so much

much worth should be lost to the world by an imprudent pursuit of pleasure? Such was the case with *Raphael*: he was cut off by it, when in the flower of his years, in the fullest strength of his abilities, in the height of his glory. Nor had he that consolation, which many young men, dying at his years, have had; that his end was noble, and therefore impossible to be premature.

If he who writes this sheds a tear for such an end of such a man, how much more reason to do so had those, who had been happy in his acquaintance and friendship? They indeed were with reason inconsolable. He was attended to his grave by all those of his profession then in *Rome*, who all regarded his loss as that of the most indulgent parent, the kindest master, and the most sincere friend. Nor was the great croud of spectators less moved, when his body was (according to the custom of his country) exposed to view in the same place where his picture of the transfiguration, his last and greatest work, then stood. No wonder the whole assembly melted into tears, to see a picture seemingly alive, while its author lay dead before it.

AFTER



AFTER you have been so entertained, said *Crito*, with such a composition as this, I know not how to venture to trouble you with any of my reflections.

In attending to it, I could not however help frequently observing, the many similar traces in this character and in that of *Virgil*. Both were blessed with great natural talents; in the improvement and perfection of which, both proceeded on the same *sure and solid foundations of the greatest industry*. Both aimed at the utmost correctness as well as spirit in their works. Both gave their attention with all possible diligence to the study of the works of the great men who had preceded them. Both made themselves acquainted with many other sciences*, besides that which was their principal profession. Each of them came to *Rome* (for neither of these great *Italians* were natives of this city) when a patron of all arts and sciences

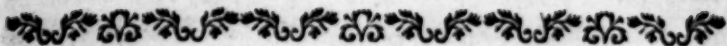
was

* *Virgilius omni curâ omnique studio se medicinæ & mathematicæ tradidit; quibus rebus cum ante alios eruditior peritiorque factus est, se in urbem contulit, statimque Augusto conciliatus, &c.* With what honour and love does *Virgil* speak of the first of these his studies in the character of *lapis*? How strongly also is his affection for the study of *natural philosophy* expressed throughout the whole *Georgics*, particularly towards the conclusion of the second book? — *Me verò primum, &c.*

was on the throne ; and each was highly favoured here by the sovereign, and by all the principal men of the state. They were indeed the two chief glories of the two *Augustan* ages of *Rome*. They were equally remarkable in bearing all their great honours with still greater modesty, affability, and goodness to all around them. Each was in particular a kind patron and cordial friend to the other poets and painters of his time ; each was consequently beloved by all the contemporaries of his profession, though full of rivalry and envy among themselves. Both took all opportunities in their works of shewing their respect and gratitude* to their patrons. Both indeed frequently shewed the goodness of their hearts (goodness equal perhaps even to their great abilities of mind) in many parts of their compositions ; and both, in this last, (as well as in so many other respects) may be attentively studied to the greatest advantage.

CHAP.

* *Bucolica scripta sunt in honorem Pollionis, Alogeni, Varii, Galli; quia in distributione agrorum indemnem se præstiterunt. Georgica edidit in honorem Mæcenatis. Æneidem autem aggressus est, ut Romanæ simul urbis & Augusti originem celebraret.*



C H A P. II.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY'S CONVERSATION.

HOWEVER great and useful the works are, by which *London* is supplied with water, (so many subterranean pipes being conveyed through every street, like veins through every member of the human body) yet still in this respect how inferior is the capital of *Britain* to that of the antient *Roman* empire? To *Rome*, whole rivers were formerly conveyed by fourteen immense aqueducts, amply sufficient to supply that most populous city (*gratis*) with no less than one hundred and fifty great and public fountains.

THERE is scarce any thing at *Rome* more striking to a traveller, than the fountains still remaining there; and the ruins of the aqueducts, which are still seen stretching their long arcades and bridges across the *Campania* of *Latium*, and directing their lofty and majestic course to *Rome*, like comets to the center of the solar system.

It was on an hillock, by the side of the *Appian* way, that this *English* company sat admiring this

VOL. II.

B

noble

noble prospect, during the early and cool hours of the following morning. They hearkened with great pleasure to their antiquarian; who informed them, that the most antient of these aqueducts was the work of *Appius Claudius Crassus*, (who was censor during the consulship of *Decius*) who was also the maker of that everlasting paved high road, by which they were now sitting; and who thus, during the term of his magistracy, conferred on the inhabitants of this city and country two of the greatest benefits, and left two of the greatest and noblest examples to all his successors in his high office. For how much more true and durable is the honour of such works, than that which attended most of the *Roman* conquerors in their most pompous triumphs?

THE next aqueduct was built by *Curius Dentatus*, who employed in this work of public utility, all his spoils of the war with king *Pyrrhus*.

THE third, and most useful of all, (*Aqua Marcia*) was built originally by *Marcus* *, but restored

* *Sed dicantur verâ æstimatione invicta miracula, quæ Q. Marcus Rex fecit. Is jussus a Senatu aquarum Appiæ, Anienis, Tepulæ ductus rescere, novam à nomine suo appellatam, cuniculis per montes ætliis, intrâ Præturæ suæ tempus adduxit. Clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe frigoris salubritatisque palmâ præconio urbis Marcia est inter reliqua Deûm munera urbi tributa.—*

Annius

*Annius or
cum quantu*

*Marcia t
assignantur.
& DECCX*

restored by *Agrippa*, who generously and justly left to it the name of its first founder.

THE fourth and fifth (*Aqua Julia*, and *Aqua Augusta vulgò Virginis*) were both entirely the works of the same *Agrippa*; though he modestly declined to give his name to either of them. Indeed at *Rome*, and in all other parts of *Italy*, he constantly endeavoured to hide his beneficence under the name of his friend, patron, and sovereign *Augustus*; or (what was more pleasing to that emperor) to attribute the honour of the design to *Augustus's* adoptive father, *Julius*.

I WAS greatly pleased, said one of the young gentlemen, in copying lately the antient inscription on the aqueduct (at *Porta St. Lorenzo*) which *Augustus* and *Titus* in different ages repaired. How pleasing is it to observe two such princes thus joining their labours and names in such a work? In the same manner, (if we confine our thoughts to the *Augustan* age) how pleasing is it to see the glory of *Agrippa* and *Augustus* thus united; and to

B 2

reflect,

Annium omnium comparatione differentia supradicta deprenditur, cum quantum Aqua Virgo tactu, tantum præset Martia hausu.

PLINY.

Martia tota potui totius urbis servit: Reliquæ aquæ aliis usibus assignantur. Habet longitudinem a capite ad urbem LX mill. pass. & DCCCX semis.

FRONTINUS.

reflect, that in the beneficent works of the first of these great men, the merit of the second also was constantly celebrated? and that very deservedly; for that emperor certainly had *real* merit in thus protecting and encouraging *Agrippa* in all these his noble designs *; and it is surely the duty of all subjects always to publish and honour, as much as possible, all the meritorious actions of their sovereigns.

As to the reign of *Augustus*, and ministry of *Agrippa*, replied *Crito*, the wise beneficence of these seems in great measure to have been copied from the example of the antient government of that country, which (by the victory of *Actium*, and conquest of *Alexandria*) they first had added to the *Roman* empire; I mean *Egypt*. For both *Agrippa* and *Augustus* seem to have endeavoured to copy and rival in *Rome*, that glory, of which they had seen such remains in the antient cities of *Egypt*: this they effected; not only by adorning *Rome* with so many statues and columns of granite and of porphyry, and with (those most noble spoils of *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*) the obelisks; but also by imitating here those works of public utility, as well as of stupendous magnificence, which had conferred such eternal honour on the antient sovereigns

* *Romam laterititiam inveni; (said Augustus) Marmorcam reliqui.*

sovereigns of *Memphis* and *Thebes*; as well as on some of the more modern princes of *Alexandria*. They imitated (in particular) their grandeur in the erection of many great temples and mausolæums, many great libraries; (particularly the *Palatine*) and above all, these aqueducts, which are in some kind as great blessings to *Rome*, as the artificial channels of the *Nile* were to the cities and provinces of *Egypt* *.

THESE were my thoughts, while I was sitting alone yesterday evening on that hill in the villa of *Sixtus Quintus*; (*Villa Negroni*) which, as you remember, is so beautifully encircled by several aged cypresses; and in the center ornamented with the colossal statue of *Rome*, in the character of *Minerva*. The solemn prospect from between those cypresses, of the pompous desolation of the *Viminal* and *Esquiline* hills; the view of the great *Lateran* obelisk, rising at a distance among the vineyards near that so antient church; the view of another *Egyptian* obelisk, belonging to the mausolæum of *Augustus*, and rising near another pom-

B 3

pous

* No water is drank in *Egypt*, except that of the *Nile*; the country being totally destitute of springs. Great remains are still to be seen there, particularly at *Alexandria*, of the artificial channels which conveyed these waters, and of the vast reservoirs where they were preserved. It is remarkable, that at *Baia* there is an astonishing reservoir of this kind, the work of the same *Agrippa*.

pous church at the very gate of that garden; all these objects inclined me to fancy myself then in the neighbourhood of some of the ruined cities of *Upper Egypt*, which are still famous for their numerous monuments of works of public utility, and of all the solemn grandeur of religion and learning. Almost every object indeed in that prospect seemed to breathe something of such an *Egyptian* air. Nor could I at that time avoid recollecting, how much the owner of this villa, *Sixtus Quintus*, (when sovereign of *Rome*) seemed to have endeavoured to imitate the works of an *Augustus* and *Agrippa*, as they did those of a *Menes* or *Osymanduas*. For it was *Sixtus Quintus*, who was the restorer of many of the obelisks, fountains, and aqueducts; the true founder of the great *Vatican* library; and the builder of the great dome of *St. Peter's*, with the same dimensions as those of *Agrippa's* pantheon.

CRITO was proceeding, when he was interrupted by one of the young gentlemen, who expressed his surprize at the mention of the name of *Sixtus Quintus* among those of such worthies. But *Crito* observed to him, that it was very happy for the world, that though glory is sought through several different paths, yet there seems to be one high road opened in common to mankind; and in which no traveller ever yet pursued his way, and found himself altogether disappointed. By acts of public utility

utility and beneficence, love and esteem is generally conciliated during life, and the praises and blessings of posterity ensured. Insomuch that even bad men, (who otherwise might not feel the conscious satisfaction that attends doing good) are drove to the necessity of courting fame by following such examples. In the noble works of these aqueducts, (which fill all the plain before us) we see not only *Augustus* encouraging *Agrippa*, and *Titus* and *Trajan*, *Antonine* and *Aurelius*, all nobly rivalling each other; but their examples also followed by men void of those two great foundations of true merit, humility and goodness of heart; such as *Sixtus Quintus*; and also by persons of infinitely worse character, even such as *Claudius* and *Caracalla*. Many other good and beneficent actions have been done by others, even still worse and worse men: several by *Nero*; particularly the rebuilding of *Lyons*, after its dreadful conflagration: several by *Tiberius*; particularly the restoration of the twelve *Asiatic* cities, overturned by that most dreadful earthquake. Yet (notwithstanding these real and great public benefits) the memory of those emperors is still deservedly most odious: for it is not by the performance of a few good actions, but by a settled and sincere intention of always doing good to all, that the true road lies to true glory.

BUT

BUT to return to the amiable name of *Agrippa*; I have drawn up some notes relative to his character; but hardly know what ground to chuse for the place of the perusal of them with you. I know not which of all *Agrippa's* public works to prefer for the scene of it: for *numerous* indeed are the monuments of his public spirit (how glorious a character for a prime minister?) still remaining; though now near eighteen hundred years are elapsed since his death.

If you please I will trouble you with a few lines here. We will again talk of the several particulars, when we visit the several other scenes of his munificence. We will not forget him, while in our way home we pass by those two places so refreshing in this hot climate, I mean the immense fountains of *Piazza Navona* and *Trevi*; both of which are so abundantly supplied by his aqueducts. We will remember him at your table; for even the water which you daily drink flows from his long-lived charity. You will again, I am sure, think of his goodness, when you visit this afternoon the spot of his gardens, and the small remains of his baths; which he finished with so great expence, and so generously left to the public use. But far above all, may the idea of the goodness and extensive beneficence of his character strike strongly on your minds, while present at the grand and solemn

solemn music, which is to be performed this evening in his great pantheon! And may the grand and solemn form also of that venerable pile (the emblem of the universe) continue to enlarge your minds; and incline you (while thinking there of *Agrippa*) earnestly to hope also, that in all nations, and in all rising generations, there never may be wanting persons adorning such high stations, with a proportionable degree of such wise *public spirit*; which is the beginning and ending of all political merit.

*Bid harbours open, public ways extend,
Bid temples worthier of the God ascend;
Back to his bounds the subject sea command,
And roll obedient rivers through the land:
These honours PEACE to happy Britain brings,
These are Imperial works, and worthy Kings.*

AGRIPPA.

A G R I P P A.

THE character of *Agrippa* may be justly considered in three different lights; and in each of them he will perhaps be found to have been the greatest man of his times; whether we consider him in his military capacity; or in his works of peace; or thirdly, in his particular station of friend and prime minister to his sovereign.

1. IN his military character, two things are chiefly observable; his great merit, and his equally great modesty.

HIS military merit was so great, as not to be confined within the limits of one element. By land he was always victorious; and that not only in the East, but (what is far more glorious to a general) in the western regions of the world, in *Hungary* and *Germany*, in *France* and in *Spain*. As an admiral, he entirely subdued all the maritime power of *Sextus Pompeius*, which was so formidable in the western part of the *Mediterranean*; and all the immense navies of *Ægypt* and the East, which *Mark Anthony* had drawn together at *Actium* *.

HIS

* *Agrippa* thus subdued two of the most powerful antagonists of *Augustus*: neither of whom (*it is very observable*) had taken arms for the public good, but only from the motives of pride and ambition.

HIS military modesty also was not less remarkable and singular: for though in the beginning of the reign of *Augustus*, above thirty other persons had at different times desired and obtained the honour of a triumph; yet *Agrippa* (like that *Scipio*, who, by the unanimous vote of the whole senate, was judged the most virtuous man of his country) always modestly and constantly declined it. And how abundantly has this modesty been rewarded? For, while almost all his contemporary generals and admirals are in great degree buried in oblivion, the military glory of *Agrippa* still remains most flourishing, and is even immortalized by the greatest poets and historians.

2. As to his character in works of peace, we have the great satisfaction to find it in these (as in arts infinitely superior to those of war) still much more nobly exerted and exalted: but in these also, the same two things are still chiefly observable, his merit and his modesty.

HE was beneficent to those nations who were become subjects of the *Roman* empire; behaving to them with great equity and goodness; and adorning their countries with many public works of the greatest utility*.—He was highly beneficent

* *Agrippa* was the author of the vast work of those four great roads, which, from their mutual centre near *Lyons*, were extended

cent to *Italy*, as his great artificial sea-port at *Misenum*, and his so successful labours in dispelling the pestilential air of the country round the lake *Averno*, will amply bear witness. He was most highly beneficent to *Rome*; for the ornament and real advantage of which city he proposed the noblest designs*; and executed other of his designs in the noblest manner. Public gardens, public baths, long aqueducts, and numerous fountains †, vast porticos

extended to every part of the provinces of all the *Gauls*. It is said, that there are some remains of them still visible near *Lyons*; which indeed was a very pleasing spectacle to this young company, in their travels through *France*; nor was it with less pleasure, that they imagined, that they saw in that country many modern public works, designed with the same noble (and as it were, antique *Roman*) spirit: many long canals, joining different and distant rivers, some joining different seas: many long and magnificent, planted and paved avenues, leading to the capital city; and many noble edifices and triumphal arches, with which *Lewis* the XIVth, and his great minister *Colbert*, so adorned the banks of the *Seine*.

* *Agrippa* (whose genius for all public works was most noble) among other things proposed, that all the principal masterpieces of art in *Rome*, whether in sculpture or painting, should not be suffered to remain in any private collections, but (satisfaction being made to the owners) removed and placed in some of the public edifices of this city. It is observable, that *Agrippa* gave the example of this, as well as proposed the design: and that this proposal seems to have been originally a thought of *Socrates*, (vid. *Xenophontis Memorabilia*) as what would be a great means of repressing private luxury and pride, as well as of encouraging the arts, and of encreasing the public magnificence.

Extat oratio Agrippæ de hac re magnifica & maximo civium digna. PLINY.

† During the year of his *Ædileship*, *Agrippa* erected, for the use of the inhabitants of *Rome*, one hundred and thirty refer-
voirs

porticos for the *Comitia* or assemblies of the people, magnificent and most solemn temples, (particularly the great *Pantheon*) are his works: works far surpassing all those of any other private *Romans*, and scarce equalled by those of any emperor. Equal was he in these to the *Athenian Pericles*, but in several other respects far superior to him.

ALL this great beneficence was still exceeded by his modesty. For, in all these most noble labours, he constantly endeavoured to hide himself under the names of his friends and benefactors; and to turn on them all the commendation and praise.

BUT this modesty also has failed of its intended effect. *Agrippa's* name is still and will for ever be most

voirs of water, and one hundred and five public fountains: in the adorning of which last, he employed three hundred brass or marble statues, and four hundred marble columns. How much more honourable to *Agrippa* was such magnificence, thus joined to works of public utility, than if it had been merely confined by him to the adorning only of his own palace or villa?

Besides these public and magnificent fountains and reservoirs, he condescended to provide seven hundred watering places for the horses and cattle in that vast city. Surely no despicable instance this of the goodness of his heart, and of that humility which is the constant companion of true humanity. For let us not esteem the attention to the wants of the animal world to be a trifling part of the works of mercy; but let us recollect and imitate the benevolence of that Divine Spirit, which, in shewing compassion on the great and imperial city of *Niniveh*, had attention not only to the multitudes of men, women, and infants in it, but also to the much cattle.

most renowned for all these works of goodness. Many of his works themselves are remaining to this day the greatest ornaments and benefits of modern *Rome*, as they were formerly of the antient city. How remarkable is it in particular, that his *Pantheon*, (on the portico of which he was by *Augustus* obliged unwillingly to inscribe his name) that this the greatest work of this perhaps one of the very best men of antient *Rome*, should still subsist far more entire and perfect than any other of all the multitude of pompous structures with which this most proud city was so filled?

3. As to his conduct relative to *Augustus*, we are to consider, that as *Augustus* himself lived in the mixed character of a *Roman* citizen and of a *Roman* emperor; so also the behaviour of *Agrippa* to him is proportionably composed of the duties both of a friend, and of a prime minister.

IN the first point of view, he may perhaps be considered as one of the most perfect patterns of affectionate friendship. For capable as he was to have himself filled the principal place, he modestly and wisely chose the second: and in that situation continued still always to cultivate the favour of *Augustus* without meanness and without envy. Indeed their constant friendship confers on each of them equal honour. For it was without distrust

or

or suspicion that *Augustus* exalted *Agrippa* to the highest honours of the state; it was with proper generosity that he rewarded his merit, by making him as his colleague at present in the government, and his intended successor to the whole empire; it was with lasting gratitude (how noble a virtue in princes?) that after the death of *Agrippa* he continued always most highly to honour his memory, speaking himself the funeral panegyric, and placing the urn in his own sepulchre.

O MY dearest young friends, (you whose hearts are so full of the noblest sentiments of mutual friendship) with what pleasure did you, a few days past, view the two great niches still remaining on each side of the portico of the *Panttheon*; in which the colossal statues of these two great men were erected, as so worthy companions to each other?

O MY dear fellow travellers, you who in your residence at *Paris* so diligently studied and admired the amiable characters of *Colbert*, minister to *Lewis XIV.* and of cardinal *Amboise*, fit minister for that father of his people *Lewis XII.* and above all that most honest prime minister, *Sully*, and of his friend, fellow-soldier, and sovereign *Henry the Great*; with what philanthropical and patriotic ardour, ought we to join again our wishes, that
Great

Great Britain also may be frequently blessed with such a sovereign and such a prime minister, as these perhaps the noblest pairs of the kind which *France* or *Rome* could ever boast?

FOR *Agrippa* (to examine his character in the second point of view) was not a less perfect pattern of a wise and virtuous prime minister, than he was of that of a friend.

HE aided his sovereign with the best counsels, and attributed to him all the honour arising from them. At the same time that he was so great a favourite of the prince, he was not less dear to the public. For he acquired this public favour by the best paths, without ostentation, without any ambitious design; having indeed no other view in seeking it, than that of strengthening by it, and establishing the authority of the prince: and on the other hand, he never made any other use of all his favour with his sovereign, than that of continually procuring by it the greatest benefit and happiness to the people.

BUT let us sit down a while on these ruins of this sepulchre of the family of *Livia*: and consider *Agrippa's* behaviour in the settlement and consequences of that most important debate in the cabinet-council, which was to determine the grand question,

question, whether *Augustus* should retain or resign the imperial power.

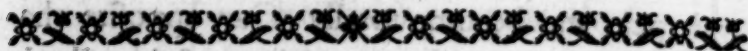
IN this debate *Agrippa*, according to his usual magnanimity, strongly supported that proposal which seemed most generous. He advised *Augustus* to resign again (gradually and prudently) the supreme authority into the hands of its antient possessors, the senate and the people of *Rome*: he enforced this advice (which was directly against his own private interest) with all the spirit of a *Roman*, zealous for the name of liberty, and with all the sincerity of a friend anxious for the safety, prosperity, and tranquility of the life of *Augustus*. *Mæcenæ*s, on the other side, elegantly and eloquently laid open the true and real condition of the *Roman* state; which long since had lost (and was even become incapable of) the real advantages and benefits of liberty; its provinces groaning under almost perpetual oppressions; its capital full of perpetual sedition and corruption, confusion and anarchy; and all the parts of its great and populous dominions ravaged by most cruel and endless civil wars. *O navis, referent in mare te novi Fluctus? Nonne vides, &c.* Storms, from the irresistible and destructive fury of which, a settled moderate monarchy alone can open to thee a secure refuge, and a quiet smooth haven. — In the name of his country, in the name of all mankind, he then con-

jured *Augustus*, (from the principle, not of ambition, but of public spirit) to retain the sovereignty; and by his wife and mild government to support what was now become the real interest of his country; and to protect and secure from the return of such dreadful calamities so large a part of the human race.

To the force and real truth of such arguments *Agrippa* submitted: and then, (immediately upon the determination of this great debate) began instantly to contrive, how, by the most indefatigable application, he might render the present form of government as beneficial to the world as possible.

It was indeed (next after that *great governance*, by which we are taught, that the hearts of princes are ruled and disposed) most probably owing to the counsels and influence of this good man, joined to those of *Mecenas* and *Messala*, and perhaps also of your friends, *Horace* and *Virgil*, that the emperor *Augustus* so surprizingly reformed and totally changed his temper of mind, and consequently his conduct both in public and private life. He, who had been the associate of the bloody triumvir, *Mark Anthony*, and had signed the proscription (I remember in our journey from *Modena* to *Bologna*, that you could not bear once to visit that infamous spot of the *Isola del Triumvirato*)

virato) even of his friend and patron, *Cicero*; now by degrees was become totally of an opposite character; practising the contrary virtues so incessantly and sincerely, as to render himself really one of the most merciful of princes. He now turned with heart-felt horrors from the very thought of any thing cruel; fully pardoning even his very assassins; and by force alone of kindness and benefits converting his most bitter enemies into friends. He, who had laid waste the world for his ambition, now far more wisely placed his ambition in doing good; and (according to the generous example of the public spirit of his noble friend and counsellor, *Agrippa*) in building, not destroying, many cities; (through how many of these have we travelled, *Turin, Ausburg, Autun, Saragossa, &c.*?) and in constantly making use of all his power as an instrument in executing works of the greatest utility and honour, not only to his country, but also to many other nations.



C H A P. III.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*Cedes coemptis saltubus, & domo,
Villâque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit :
Cedes, & extructis in altum
Divitiis potietur hæres.*

*Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
Nil interest, an pauper, & infimâ
De gente sub dio moreris
Victima nil miserantis Orci.*

*Omnes eodem cogimur ; omnium
Versatur urnâ seriûs, ocyus
Sors exitura, &c.*

THE mausolæum of *Augustus* was built near the pantheon of *Agrippa* ; it was of a circular shape, and nearly of the same size with that noble building. Its walls, though not its roof, are still remaining. The circular space within (above one hundred and seventy feet in diameter) is at present a garden filled with oranges, and other fragrant ever-greens.

HERE

HERE *Crito* was sitting with his pupil, and attending to him, while reading the above lines of *Horace*; when they were joined by the other young gentlemen: one of whom had been engaged for some time that morning in purchasing a bust of *Agrippa*; the other in drawing a design of that elegant antique statue of *Plenty* with her cornucopia, which so fortunately and properly stands at present at the outside of the entrance of this mausolæum of *Augustus*. Before the company began their morning-lecture here, they took several walks together around and across this venerable but chearful garden; during which time *Crito* made the following observations, in an irregular and broken manner, according as the thoughts rose in his mind.

How different is this place from the mausolæum of our *British* kings in *Westminster Abbey*, that solemn edifice, which (next at least to the antiquities of *Rome*) we ought always to regard with the greatest veneration and love? But the gloom of mortality is here all vanished.—These odorous ever-greens seem to be planted as emblems of the memory of the departed.—They may be considered too, as representing the immortality of the soul.

How proper ornaments indeed are these chearful trees and flowers for the mansions of death!

Of death, I mean, not according to its too common gloomy idea, but according to its happy name, and heavenly appearance in the character of the genius of *Euthanasia*; or, in the modern eastern stile, that of the *Angel of good death*.

I wish my pupil, among his poetical works at *Rome*, would favour me with an ode to that genius; and draw it up, not with the ideas of *Horace*, but with others far superior, those of *Virgil*. With what pleasure would he recollect the description of the beautiful and benevolent *Iris*, as employed in this office in the last lines of the fourth *Æneid*?*—It is indeed no wonder, that *Virgil* should be able to look on death in a much more noble and amiable light than *Horace*: for (notwithstanding the many social virtues of *Horace*) certainly *Virgil* was a much better man.

VERY amiably too could another young gentleman of this company describe on canvass the same *Euthanasia*; descending from heaven, the gates of which she opens; and (with all the benignity and beauty

- * *Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem
Difficilemque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
Quæ luctantem animam, nexosque resolveret artus.—
Ergo Iris croceis per cælum roseida pennis
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores
Devolat, & suprà caput astitit: Hunc ego Diti
Sacrum, jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.*

beauty of a seraph drawn by *Dominicino*) receiving and crowning the good; whether young, middle-aged, or old; of all the various seasons of life of all the various persons *here* interred.

INDEED, this mausolæum is like this orange-tree (under which, if you please, we will now sit down) loaded at once with the beautiful productions of all the seasons of the year, buds, flowers, and fruit. Happy is it for you, my dear young friends, that there are none of these (whether on the tree, or gathered) sweeter than the bud. *Marcellus's* virtue, both in life and death, is full as sweet and lovely as that of *Agrippa* himself.

M A R C E L L U S.

*Nor love thy life, nor hate. But what thou liv'st,
Live well. How long or short, permit to heav'n.*

MILTON.

MARCELLUS, nephew and son-in-law to *Augustus*, and his declared successor to the imperial throne of *Rome*, was suddenly removed by death from all this possession and prospect of grandeur. He was cut down in the very strength and flower of his youth; when scarce twenty years of age. Yet had he made so good an use of his

time, as to have then already gained the esteem and affection of mankind in the greatest degree. For, though the age of *Augustus* was certainly the most splendid epocha of the *Roman* history, yet amidst all the great characters which then appeared, though some (that of *Agrippa* in particular) may more justly demand our admiration, yet none of them has been regarded, either in that or in all succeeding ages, with such general love as the memory of this amiable young man. *Amor erat populi Romani*; as much as the good and studious *Edward* the Sixth, and prince *Henry*, (elder-brother of *Charles* the First) were of the *English*.

His person was naturally most beautiful; and was improved in gracefulness as well as strength by his perfection in all youthful exercises. His mind was still more great and noble. *Animo alacer erat; ingenio potens*. But these qualifications, whether of *body*, or of *understanding*, were but trifling in comparison of those of his *heart*. *Adolescens patiens erat laboris; voluptatibus alienus; frugalitatis & continentiae in illis aut annis aut opibus, non mediocriter admirandus*. All his actions were full of wisdom, of courage, of affability, of kindness. There was nothing indeed kind or good but what *Rome* hoped from his government. No wonder, that his bier was followed by such general sincere lamentations. *Mater autem nullum finem per omne*
vita

* Vol
the spirit
all those
country)
very prop
Burgundy.

Qual
Sur

vita suæ tempus flendi, gemendique fecit. Lugubrem vestem nunquam deposuit. Intenta in unam rem (memoriam scilicet carissimi filii) & toto animo affixa, talis per omnem vitam fuit, qualis in funere. But Augustus suffered by this great loss in a double capacity; (as a relation, and as a Roman.) *In Marcellum enim Augustus incumbere ceperat: in Marcellum onus imperii reclinare. Laturus enim erat Marcellus quantumcunque illi avunculus imponere, (et, ut ita dicam, inædificare) voluisset. Bene enim legerat, nulli cessura ponderi, fundamenta.* This character, drawn of him by Seneca, (many years after his death, when all flattery to his memory was at an end) greatly confirms his extraordinary praises, which we find in several contemporary poets, *Horace*, &c. but particularly in *Virgil*; whether when shadowed out perhaps under the characters of *Pallas*, or *Euryalus*; or expressly in those lines of the sixth *Æneid*, which seems to have been breathed forth in the spirit of the most sincere grief, as well as of the sweetest poetry *.

AUGUSTUS,

* *Voltaire* (in that part of the *Henriade*, where he describes the spirit of *St. Lewis*, shewing to *Henry the IVth* the spirits of all those who were to be the chief glories of his family and country) has particularly imitated this passage in *Virgil*; and very properly applied it to the most amiable young duke of *Burgundy*.

*Quel est ce jeune Prince, en qui la Majesté
Sur son visage aimable éclate sans fierté ?*

D'un

AUGUSTUS, whose grief *Virgil* probably delineates under that of *Anchises*, honoured *animam nepotis sui*, with the greatest funeral solemnities. He spoke himself the funeral oration in his honour, (*non quidem solitâ suâ promptâ ac profluenti eloquentiâ*; but without doubt interrupted by frequent sighs and groans, as well of the orator himself, as of all the surrounding weeping multitude) and then with his own hands placed the urn in *this* most beautiful mausolæum; which he had built to receive it, and the other sepulchral urns of his family and friends, particularly *Agrippa's* and his own. For the dust of *Augustus* and *Agrippa*, and of those three youthful rivals in virtue, (may three of this company become the same!) *Marcellus*,
Drusus,

D'un œil d'indifférence il regarde le Trône.

Ciel ! quelle nuit soudaine à mes yeux l'environne ?

La mort autour de lui vole sans s'arrêter ;

Il tombe au pied du Trône, étant prêt d'y monter.

O mon fils ! des François vous voyez le plus juste !

Les cieux le formeront de votre sang auguste :

Grand Dieu ! ne faites-vous que montrer aux humains

Cette fleur passagère, ouvrage de vos mains ?

Hélas ! que n'eût point fait cette âme vertueuse ?

La France sous son règne eût été trop heureuse.

Il eût entretenu l'abondance & la paix ;

Mon fils ! Il eût compté ses jours par ses bienfaits ;

Il eût aimé son peuple. ———

O jours remplis d'alarmes !

O combien les François vont répandre des larmes,

Quand sous la même tombe ils verront réunis

Et l'époux & la femme, & la mère & le fils,

Drusus, and *Germanicus*, all rest under the orange-trees and beds of flowers, among which we are now sitting. Let us not survey this chearful scene with a careless eye, nor tread it negligently and inattentively. Perhaps (to use the words of our present poet laureat, in his elegant and so instructive elegy wrote in this very place;) perhaps in every shrub, in every flower of this garden, some of the ashes of these heroes may now live a vegetative life. Perhaps that sweet young half-opened rose, to which you are now smelling without cropping it, has its root in the urn of *Germanicus*:

*Perhaps unknowing of the bloom it gives
In yon fair scyon of Apollo's tree,
The sacred dust of young Marcellus lives.
Pluck not the leaf: 'twere sacrilege to wound
Th' ideal memory of so sweet a shade.
In these sad seats an early grave he found,
And the first rites to gloomy Dis convey'd.
O lost too soon! Yet why lament a fate
By thousands envy'd, and by heav'n approv'd?*

FOR let us not imagine, that this death of *Marcellus* was premature. If he had lived a full century, how could his departure have been more honoured? Indeed the emperor himself must have looked on the death of *Marcellus* not only with

with compassion, but with *love*, and with *admiration* also. For how much must he have wished, that he himself had lived and died like *Marcellus*? How deeply must he, in the bitterness of conscience, have then reflected on the great difference of *his* youth, from that of his happy nephew? It is true, that *Augustus* was then labouring (which labours he continued for the last *forty* years of his life) in doing all the good then in his power. (With what pleasure did you recollect this most glorious as well as amiable part of his life and character when you visited the magnificent temple erected to his memory at *Pola*?) He favoured populoufness; he laboured to support the general peace of mankind. He greatly augmented the wisdom, plenty, and happiness of his own people; he blessed all the orders of the state, all the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy*, all the allies, and all the provinces of the *Roman* world, with the wisest government, with the wisest laws, (tending particularly to the reformation of manners) and with the most diligent (though merciful) administration of justice. But yet he could never hope, that even thus his former crimes (however atoned for in the sight of heaven) could ever totally be effaced in the eyes of men. Mankind will always look on him with hatred and detestation, though mixed with admiration, though mixed with pity. Happy, happy then (give me leave to repeat it) are the young part of this company

to

to esteem themselves, who have it now in their power to begin their lives in the best, most complete manner : and thus to lay the broadest, most solid foundation for the comfort, happiness, and splendor, *without one flaw*, of whatever may be the remainder of their days ; whether, by the mercy of heaven, they may be removed soon to a better state ; or whether they may have it in their power, by a longer life here, to add daily to the happiness of others, and to their own virtues.

ON the whole, what should be our highest wish ? First, that our youth may be as virtuous as the youth of *Marcellus* ; and then, that we may either add to it the virtue of the middle and latter years of *Augustus*, or else die soon. May we die long before we do any thing to stain our glory and virtue * !

Μη δῆτα, μη δῆτ', Ω Θεων' αγνον Σεβας,

Ιδοιμι ταυτην ημεραν' Αλλ' εκ βροτων

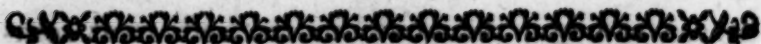
Βαιην αφαντος, τοπριν, η τοιανδ' ιδειν

Κηλιδ' εμαυτω συμφορας αφιγμενην.

Οιδιπ. Τυραννος.

CHAP.

- * *Death, that does sin and sorrow thus prevent,
Is the next blessing to a life well spent.*



CHAP. IV.

TWENTY-THIRD DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE next day the company visited with great pleasure the theatre of *Marcellus*, and the neighbouring portico of the library of *Octavia*; a pleasure greatly enhanced by the memory of that most amiable young prince, and that most worthy princess, in whose honour both those splendid edifices were erected. From thence they proceeded under the western side of mount *Palatine*; not without frequently looking up with admiration to the pompous ruins of the imperial palace; but reflecting at the same time, how much even in *Augustus's* time that hill was the seat of sorrow; and how much that highest degree of human grandeur was embittered by the most heart-felt disappointment and grief. Under how many repeated domestic misfortunes indeed did *Augustus* groan? Even his enemies might have pitied him, when he cried out, Αἰθ' ὄφελον ἀγῶνος ὀϊμεναί, ἀγαμος τ' ἀπολεσθαι. Besides all other sorrow; he saw his sister, the excellent *Octavia*, die of long grief for the loss of her beloved *Marcellus*; he saw his wife *Livia* burying her only good son, *Drusus*;

Drusus; who, next to *Marcellus*, is described to be one of the most amiable youths of his time, and the most deservedly regretted by his family and country: *Tiberius* in the mean time surviving *Drusus*, for the punishment of his country; in the same manner as *Julia*, for that of her family, survived both *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*.

At some distance from mount *Palatine*, between the *Celian* and *Aventine* hills, is still to be seen the arch of *Drusus*; its venerable head being covered with moss and shrubs, but its sides still ornamented with two ~~rich~~ marble columns. *of African Marble.*

In viewing with proper respect this monument of the amiable memory of that youthful hero, one of the young gentlemen recollected what he had heard and seen relative to the same prince in his passage through *France*, particularly in the city of *Lyons*. For it was in *Gaul* that *Drusus* began his public life, by establishing peace and tranquility through that extensive country; it was at *Lyons* that he erected the famous monument of the concord of sixty *Gallic* states, and of his own dutiful respect to his father *Augustus*; I mean that so famous altar and temple, which was erected near the conflux of the *Soane* and *Rhone*, and of which the two magnificent and lofty *Egyptian* granite columns are still remaining in one of the churches of

of that antient capital and metropolis of *France* *. Another of the young gentlemen, who had taken the route of *Holland* and of the *Low-Countries*, recollected the far more noble monuments which are there to this day remaining of the wisdom and magnanimity of the same hero, viz. the canals, which with so truly an imperial design, and so much in the spirit of the antient wisdom of *Egypt*, he cut in various parts of that beautiful *European Delta*, and by which he there joined so many rivers, lakes, and seas. *Crito's* pupil, who had passed some time in *Germany*, particularly in the provinces on the *Rhine*, with pleasure added, that above fifty *German* towns, which now adorn the banks of that great river, all owed their foundation to the same wise prince; deriving their origin from the several stations, which he so prudently chose for his camps, in those then so wild and uncultivated regions. Even the great city of *Mentz* was thus built by *Drusus*; and an antient trophy erected to his memory is still standing in the highest place of its citadel: with what pleasure (continued he) did
my

* In the church of *D'Enay*, standing near the point of the conflux, and probably on the very spot on which the antient altar of *Augustus* was placed. The two granite columns there seem to be of the same sort with those in *Agrippa's* portico of the pantheon at *Rome*: but being sawn in sunder, they are now divided in four pillars, which support the small dome of that church. As for their original form, position, and use, vid. many medals relative to that subject. — *Germanicus*, son of *Drusus*, was born at *Lyons*.

B

my
the
gan
Ma
from
doe
dom
metr
inde
the
with
benev
even
consol
Ameri
becom
world,
been in

But

now be
the nam
it is in
as the m
much
greatly t
Jews still
passes un
scarce ev

VOL.

my dear friend and tutor *Crito* view from thence the wide prospect of that fertile country, (now *the garden of Germany*) watered by the *Rhine* and *Main*, the junction of which noble rivers exactly fronts that trophy of *Drusus*? A prospect, which does the highest and most just honour to the wisdom and goodness of this the first founder of that metropolis of the *German* empire. How happy indeed is it (as *Crito* then observed to me) when the works of war are thus mixed and tempered with the works of peace; and when thus, by the benevolence of Providence, such good is produced even from the greatest evils? May such be the consolatory consequences of our present *North American* wars! and may the *British* generals become the founders of as many cities in the new world, as *Augustus*, *Alexander*, and *Drusus*, have been in the old!

BUT let us call back our attention to the scene now before us. For in several parts of *Germany* the name of *Drusus* is still terrible: here at *Rome* it is in all respects lovely. In the same manner as the memory of *Titus* (whose arch also, though much more magnificently ornamented, seems greatly to resemble this of *Drusus*) is among the Jews still an object of terror; (no Jew at *Rome* ever passes under *his* arch) though by all other persons scarce ever mentioned without affection. But how

much more desirable an honour is this last than the first? and how remarkable is it, that the memory of the goodness of *Drusus* is still flourishing, while all the effects of his military achievements are so long perished; *Rome* itself being sunk for ever under the arms of those very *German* nations, over whom *Drusus* triumphed?

FROM this arch the company turned down the solitary rural lanes of the *Cælian* and *Esquiline* hills; for this which was antiently the most populous part of *Rome* is now become the most desolate. Four indeed of its seven hills (the *Palatine*, *Aventine*, *Cælian*, and *Esquiline*) have scarce any edifices remaining on them, except the churches, hospitals, and some (now country) villas of the nobility.

SUCH is the fate of all national grandeur! How happy is it, that the arts and sciences of the *Augustan* age have in so great a degree outlived all the other glory of *Rome*? These were the reflections of some of the company, when they arrived on that part of the *Esquiline* hill, where the house of *Virgil* once stood: and where the beautiful pantheon of *Minerva Medica* is still in great part remaining. The pleasant vineyard, which is adorned with these noble remains, is still called *Galuzzo*; being a corruption of the names

• Vid.

† It is
and twen
broad and
which nov
very, of

names of *Caius* and *Lucius*, two other sons of *Augustus*, who also were buried by him; and to whose memory that emperor erected here a basilica, and also this temple; perhaps with the same idea with which *Osymanduas* erected near *Thebes* his great monument and library, naming it *Φυγε Ιατρικον*. For here *Minerva* was honoured as another *Hygeia*, presiding over the health of that part of the human nature, which, though not mortal, is yet from our very childhood continually liable to many and most dreadful distempers. Frequently indeed is she on this account entitled *Minerva Medica*; and represented with the full attributes of *Æsculapius*, the serpent and wand; blessing mankind with the *medicina mentis*, as he did with that of the body*.

THIS temple, like the other buildings of that time, (as the *Pantbeon*, *Mausoleum*, and *Hemicyclium* of the *Palatine Apollo*) is of the form of a rotunda†. Its moss-grown walls and lofty roof being still remaining, though much shattered in many places. The company entered into this

D 2 most

* Vid. *Cicero*, *Tusculan Questions*, lib. iii. in initio.

† It is a decagon. Its circuit is on the inside two hundred and twenty-five feet. In the walls between each angle are broad and deep niches for statues.—Here was found that statue, which now makes so noble an appearance in the *Justiniani* gallery, of *Pallas* with a serpent at her feet.

most picturesque ruin, in the center of which they found a large fountain. By the side of this fountain they sat down: and one of the young gentlemen began again the conversation on that *amiable part* of the history of *Augustus*, his patronage of literature and science; and particularly his care in the education of the young princes of his family. For though *Caius* and *Lucius* died so early, yet had they received much instruction from him; and though he was so unhappy in *Julia* and *Tiberius*, yet how glorious were the fruits of his paternal care in *Marcellus*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus*? What imperial palace ever indeed at one time produced three such princes?

MAY a similar education (replied *Crito's* pupil, in a kind of sudden rapture) for ever bless all the royal youth of modern *Europe*! But why do I form so *imperfect* a wish on so great an occasion? May they be for ever blessed with a far *better* education! even with those instructions, which the goddess of this very temple is said, under the character of *Mentor*, to have herself bestowed on the youthful heir of a *Grecian* kingdom; and which *Fenelon* * copied for the eternal benefit of all the princes and people of *Europe*, though his pupil, the most amiable duke of *Burgundy*, died as young as *Drusus* or *Germanicus*.

WITH

* Vid. the Appendix of this Volume.

WITH what noble pleasure indeed (said *Crito* after some pause) did this company often converse on that noble subject, while visiting the archiepiscopal church of *Cambray*, or while seated by some of the shady fountains of *Marli*? With what happiness of heart shall we again, in some of the same places, renew perhaps the same conversation, when in our journey home we shall revisit those parts of *France*? At present, as your friend proposes, let us consider, though indeed a far less worthy object, the education given by *Augustus* to his young imperial family.

D R U S U S.

Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis:—

Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam;

Relique cultus pectora roborant:

Utcunque defecere mores,

Dedecorant bene nata culpæ.

AFTER *Marcellus*'s death, *Drusus* and *Tiberius* (the two princely brothers of whom *Horace* here speaks) were together educated in the palace, and under the care of *Augustus*. *Germanicus*, the son of *Drusus*, had also the same happiness.

DURING the life of that wise emperor, these three princes were in general (though *Tiberius* was always inferior to the other two) regarded by the public with the greatest esteem. The *Romans*, still more than their enemies,

*Sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
Possit; quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Neronis.*

IF indeed we duly consider the character of *Drusus*, we cannot avoid to pay just respect to the memory of those, who had the care of his education. *Drusus Claudius* (as *Paterculus* wrote several years after his death) *Adolescens erat tot tantarumque virtutum, quantas natura mortalis recipit, aut industria perficit. Cujus ingenium, utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus suffecerit artibus in incerto est: morum certè dulcedo & suavitas, & adversus amicos omnes æqua & par sui æstimatio inimitabilis fuisse dicitur.* A character which would seem very much exaggerated; if we had not, in the history of the princes of *England*, one (I mean that of the great prince of *Wales*, son of the great *Edward III.*) very similar to this of *Drusus*; and very equal to it in all its exalted virtues, particularly in that most amiable of all, filial respect and love.

MAY

MAY such be the character, at least in several particulars, of all this young company ! for it is very observable, that these so numerous and great virtues were not in *Drusus* the fruits of *age* and experience : but are totally to be attributed, first to his excellent natural disposition ; and secondly to that education, by which this truly noble youth had been taught to be perpetually cultivating and improving his great natural talents, by a studious industry equal to, and worthy of them.

By these means he became, as to military affairs, after the decease of *Agrippa*, the greatest character of his times. His campaigns in *Germany* gave full proof both of his conduct and courage ; in each of which, as well as in his works of public spirit, he most nobly imitated the example of that same great man.

In works of peace his actions were still brighter. For he (like his dear *Antonia*) united to a graceful body a still more lovely soul. He was generous and popular ; and is said indeed to have possessed all the other qualities, which are fitted to create either esteem or affection.

No wonder, that, crowning (as he did) such a character by a death in the service of his country, he should leave a memory so much beloved by all

the *Romans*. *Augustus*, with peculiar fondness towards this his so amiable son, wrote himself his epitaph in verse, and the history of his life in prose. He spoke his funeral oration also; in which he declared, that all that he wished for the glory of his surviving children was, that they might one day resemble *Drusus*; and all that he wished for himself, that he might be honoured with a death like that of this young hero, thus interred in the midst of his triumphs.

Augustus then, with his own hands, bore the urn into that mausolæum, which we yesterday visited. How striking an example of the vanity and weakness of the most exalted human grandeur, was that spectacle? and how similar to what was seen in *France*? when, during the reign of *Louis le Grand*, (in this, as well as in several other respects, really a second *Augustus*) so many funeral cars, bearing the bodies of the duke of *Burgundy*, and of many others of the royal family, so closely followed each other along the avenue leading to the mausolæum at *St. Dennis*.

How elegant are those melancholy verses of *Albinovanus* on this subject of the interment of *Drusus* by *Augustus*; as well as of those three other truly great persons, *Agrippa*, *Marcellus*, and the most amiable *Octavia*?

Condidit

Condidit Agrippam quo te, Marcelle, sepulchro;

Et cepit generos jam locus ille duos.

Vix posito Agrippâ tumuli bene janua clausa est,

Perficit officium funeris ecce Soror.

Ecce tēr ante datis jactura novissima Drusus

A magno lacrymas Cæsare quartus habet.

Claudite jam, Parcæ, nimum reſerata ſepulcra!

Claudite! plus juſto jam domus iſta patet.

ALAS! how ſoon did *Germanicus* follow? Yet why ſhould his death, or that of his father *Drusus*, be ſo lamented? *Drusus* certainly had the happineſs (that happineſs, for which *Heſtor*, like all other good parents, ſo ardently wiſhed) of having a ſon who ſurpaſſed him in virtue. Πάτερς δ' οὕγε πολλὸν κρείων. For *Germanicus*, by diligently imitating his father, at laſt came even to excel him. Both father and ſon indeed died young; but neither of their deaths can be reckoned premature; for look only on the hiſtory of the family of the *Cæsars*; and compare the ſhort lives of *Drusus* and *Germanicus* with thoſe of *Caligula* and *Nero*; (none of whom ſurvived the thirtieth year of their age) and ſure we ſhall not want a proof, that the height of glory, as well as the moſt eternal infamy, may be by virtue or by vice acquired at thoſe years.

IN to-morrow's converſation we ſhall conſider the life of *Germanicus*, and conſtraſt it in ſome degree

degree with that of *Tiberius*. For, as the most likely means to inspire youth with true virtue, is to place before their eyes continually, and on all sides, the noblest and brightest examples of those who have been most eminent in it from the foundation of the world; so the next thing that is likely to fill them with the same zeal, is, sometimes (not often) to shew them the extreme baseness and horror of an opposite character. For who can help blessing God for the glory and happiness of virtue; to which he has called us; in which we are instructed by our earliest education; and which is afterwards thus exemplified to us in so many moving examples of the wise and good; all (in a long series throughout all ages) thus imitating their excellent predecessors; and leaving, like them, an example for their successors? Especially when, on the other hand, we see the blackness, darkness, and depth of infamy, wretchedness, and horrid misery, into which all those (sooner or later) fall, who desert *the shining paths of the virtuous*, in which they have been instructed, and forget *the education of wisdom*.



C H A P. V.

TWENTY-FOURTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE following day being dedicated to the memory of *Germanicus*, the company met with great exactness at the hour appointed, in that apartment of the *Barberini* palace, where the death of that hero is so nobly described by *Poussin*. From thence they proceeded to the *Capital*; and ascended the stairs of the *Museum*, in the second apartment of which they stopt sometime to admire the recumbent thoughtful statue of *Agrippina*; they then went on to the imperial chamber. How magnificent a spectacle (said one of the young gentlemen) is here all around us? This assembly of almost all the great personages of the several imperial families of *Rome*, during the three centuries of its greatest splendor: surely the *Cæsarean* hall itself, on mount *Palatine*, was never filled with a living company of a dignity or grandeur in any degree equal to that of this assembly.

In this apartment (in which the company were now entered) is preserved a series of rich and large marble

marble busts of most of the emperors, empresses, *Cæsars*, and ladies of the imperial blood, from the times of *Augustus* down almost to those of *Constantine*; ranged in two noble rows all around the room. After having for some time surveyed the rich materials and far richer sculpture of several of these; the attention of the company was again drawn to the memory of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*; their busts being placed on the upper row near the window, immediately following those excellent busts of *Drusus* and *Antonia*.

GRAND indeed (said *Crito's* pupil) is this spectacle: but how greatly does the splendor of it abate, when we consider the *difference* of the characters of which this company is composed? Several indeed, particularly those before us, of noble and exalted minds; but in how many other of these breasts did the greatest meanness and misery lurk? The case, as we shall perhaps find by our own experience, in all the courts and in all the assemblies of the present age.

BUT to consider it in a calm view, (as one of the philosophers in the next room would do) how ill-sorted does this company appear? *Agrippa*, *Marcellus*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus*; *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Antoninus*, and these several busts of *Marcus Aurelius*; mixed with those of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*,
Claudius,

Claudius, Nero, Vitellius, Domitian, and that most ill-looking *Caracalla* in that corner. It puts me in mind of the sculpture on *Æneas's* shield; in which *Virgil* has introduced some of the worst, as well as some of the best of the *Roman* characters; with the consequences of each (the depths of hell and height of heaven) closely and instructively contrasted together.

Te, Catilina, minaci

Pendentem scopulo, furiarumque ora tremantem :

Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.

HAPPY would it be (said *Crito*) if, in the future course of your life, you could always chuse and fort your company. It would in some measure turn earth into heaven. For no little part of the happiness and perpetually-increasing virtue of heaven itself, must consist in the eternal unmixed society of the good. While we are in this life, let us imitate it as much as we can. Let us (as much as possible) be conversant, both in our studies and in our lives, only with the good. For every part of the world has in it a choice of as different characters as this chamber; nor is there any nation, or any religion, in which you will not be able to find many angels, as well as many devils, in human shape.

As

As to the scene now before us, may the strong contrast of these characters have its proper effect on our minds*! May the example of their lives, whose vices and follies have so deservedly exposed them to the eternal censure and abhorrence of the whole virtuous world, raise in us a similar abhorrence of such characters; and at the same time a noble emulation to imitate those others, whose memories are adorned with so many illustrious marks of wisdom and goodness. This scene of imperial *Rome* shews us virtue and vice, both placed in the *biggest* stations; but may we always remember, that in all stations vice is in itself equally odious, and virtue always equally amiable: above all, may you never forget, that every one of you has it in his power, (and I hope and believe in your hearts too) in your several spheres proportionably to do as much good in the world, and to be as much beloved as *Agrippa*, *Aurelius*, or *Germanicus*, were in theirs.

I HAVE, as I proposed yesterday, brought with me here some notes on the life of *Germanicus*, contrasted with that of *Tiberius*: consisting merely of extracts from the antient historians, particularly *Tacitus*. I wish I may have ranged these in tolerable order, but am sure I ought not to presume to add to them any reflections of my own.

GERMANICUS.

* Vid. the beginning of the Life of *Demetrius* in *Plutarch*.

GERMANICUS.

THERE is not perhaps any scene in history which shews more strongly the misery of degenerating from our education, and of losing the virtuous reputation gained in our youth, than the contrast between the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

THEY both began their lives in the same exalted theatre of human grandeur, the palace of the *Roman* empire. Both were educated by *Augustus*, at that time in the height of his goodness and wisdom. Both were possessed of great natural genius and abilities of mind. Both in their early manhood acted virtuously and nobly. But *Tiberius* suffered himself to grow gradually corrupted in his heart, and degenerate from the glorious beginning of his life. His actions of virtue and goodness grew daily fewer and fewer: his heart grew worse and worse. *Morum enim tempora illi diversa. Egregius vitâ, famâque, quoad privatus, vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit: fingens virtutes donec superfuit Germanicus: inter bona, malaque mixtus incolumi matre: postea in scelera omnia, & dedecora prorumpent.* Thus did he gradually become the most despicable, the most hated, the most cursed of characters: his long life, and exalted station, only adding

to the weight of the infamy and misery on his head.

THE name of *Germanicus* has been now for more than seventeen centuries, and will probably continue as long as history remains, most beloved and revered. *Ingenium illi contigit, in utroque eloquentiæ ac doctrinæ studio præcellens*; and that in poetry too, as well as oratory. *Multa reliquit studiorum monumenta*; particularly a translation of *Aratus*, with astronomical notes: but (what is of infinitely more consequence) *fortitudinem habuit egregiam, benevolentiam singularem: conciliandæque hominum gratiæ ac promerendi amoris mirum & efficax studium.*

HE continued always to keep his heart, with all diligence, in the constant habit of intending and aiming at the best designs: he consequently was in his heart and countenance, and in all his words and actions, open, generous, and noble. *Tiberius*, on the contrary, grew by degrees (the necessary consequence of his wickedness) to have always dissimulation in his countenance, insincerity and darkness in his speech, and malevolence in his heart. In proportion as he lost himself all title to real glory, he became most meanly envious: all the honours, which others acquired, offended him. *Germanicus* was compassionate to the unhappy, and

and kind even to his rivals. Faithful and most brave himself in the service of his country; and honouring all the dead and living who had been so *. *Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulchra cognosceret, inferias Manibus dabat: cæsorum Varianorum præsertim reliquias colligere & tumulo condere suâ manu primus aggressus est.* At the hazard of his own life he was loyal to his sovereign, his adopted father, though in continual danger of destruction from his malice; and though himself sure of obtaining the imperial diadem, if he had had the inclination to have wrested it from the possessor. *Legiones universas imperatorem Tiberium recusantes, & sibi summum imperium deferentes, compescuit; incertum majore constantiâ an pietate.*

TIBERIUS, on the other hand, had no object but that of mean self-love and false ambition: he had no affection to any person: he was suspicious and fearful of all: and yet (the miserable consequence of such a temper) this tyrant was continually admitting the worst men to his society and favour; and continually persecuting and murdering his nearest relations, and the most innocent and worthy of his subjects.

VOL. II.

E

GER-

* In the following age, Trajan acted in the same noble and generous manner. *Il fit elever un autel en memoire de ceux qui étoient tués dans les combats, & il y fonda des sacrifices annuels.*

to the weight of the infamy and misery on his head.

THE name of *Germanicus* has been now for more than seventeen centuries, and will probably continue as long as history remains, most beloved and revered. *Ingenium illi contigit, in utroque eloquentiæ ac doctrinæ studio præcellens*; and that in poetry too, as well as oratory. *Multa reliquit studiorum monumenta*; particularly a translation of *Aratus*, with astronomical notes: but (what is of infinitely more consequence) *fortitudinem habuit egregiam, benevolentiam singularem: conciliandæque hominum gratiæ ac promerendi amoris mirum & efficax studium*.

He continued always to keep his heart, with all diligence, in the constant habit of intending and aiming at the best designs: he consequently was in his heart and countenance, and in all his words and actions, open, generous, and noble. *Tiberius*, on the contrary, grew by degrees (the necessary consequence of his wickedness) to have always dissimulation in his countenance, insincerity and darkness in his speech, and malevolence in his heart. In proportion as he lost himself all title to real glory, he became most meanly envious: all the honours, which others acquired, offended him. *Germanicus* was compassionate to the unhappy, and

and kind even to his rivals. Faithful and most brave himself in the service of his country; and honouring all the dead and living who had been so *. *Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulchra cognosceret, inferias Manibus dabat: caesorum Varianorum praefertim reliquias colligere & tumulo condere sua manu primus aggressus est.* At the hazard of his own life he was loyal to his sovereign, his adopted father, though in continual danger of destruction from his malice; and though himself sure of obtaining the imperial diadem, if he had had the inclination to have wrested it from the possessor. *Legiones universas imperatorem Tiberium recusantes, & sibi summum imperium deferentes, compescuit; incertum majore constantia an pietate.*

TIBERIUS, on the other hand, had no object but that of mean self-love and false ambition: he had no affection to any person: he was suspicious and fearful of all: and yet (the miserable consequence of such a temper) this tyrant was continually admitting the worst men to his society and favour; and continually persecuting and murdering his nearest relations, and the most innocent and worthy of his subjects.

VOL. II. E GER-

* In the following age, Trajan acted in the same noble and generous manner. *Il fit elever un autel en memoire de ceux qui étoient tués dans les combats, & il y fonda des sacrifices annuels.*

GERMANICUS was always inclined to sweetness and goodness; mild and forgiving to his slanderers; supporting affronts with true magnanimity and patience; and with the greatest generosity saving the lives of his most mortal enemies. *Tiberius* was always hard-hearted and cruel; and full of such mean malevolence to all his fellow creatures, as frequently in the bitterness of his malice to repeat that diabolical line

Εμὲ θανόντος, Γαῖα μυχθῆτω πυρί.

* * *

CRITO had proceeded thus far in reading his notes, when some foreigners coming to visit the *Museum*, this *English* company, in order to give them full liberty of examining those apartments, retired into the neighbouring small area; which is at the bottom of the stone staircase. There they sat down near the fountain adorned by the antient colossal statue of the *Rhine*, and fronting that small portico, which is so full of *Egyptian* as well as of *Grecian* and *Roman* antiquities. Their conversation was then continued in the following manner.

To understand the contrast of these two characters still more fully, let us consider *Germanicus* (as he is described by the antient historians) not only during his government of the provinces on the

LET
as abso
Roman
himself
shame a

the *Rhine*, (particularly at *Cologne*, his colony) but also during his *travels* through those other regions of the world, which were then most famous, either for the past or present merit of their inhabitants. He travelled with the greatest continued pleasure, because with continued innocence, and with continued intentions of learning and practising good in every place. He satisfied his laudable curiosity by visiting and examining the venerable antiquities in *Greece* and *Asia*; and, in a more particular manner, those of *Egypt*. He respected the inhabitants of all those celebrated countries, for the sake of their ancestors. But as he was invested with a share of the power of the government, he constantly (like the great and good *Osiris*) made it his chief business, in all countries through which he travelled, to take that opportunity of establishing the public tranquility, order, and plenty; appeasing all discords, and relieving all oppressions whether foreign or domestic;

Φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποις,

Πάντας γὰρ φιλεῖσθην.

LET us, on the other hand, consider *Tiberius* as absolute sovereign of the whole of the vast *Roman* empire, yet ashamed and afraid to shew himself even in this his capital city. Full of shame and fear, he for many years absconded in

the rocky fortress of a small island. From thence he was continually sending his tyrannical and bloody decrees to this city. Continually was he there employing his strange solitary life (like *Macbeth* in his castle of *Dunsinane*) either in planning and acting scenes of the greatest cruelty and wickedness; or in lying astonished under those blackest horrors of conscience, with which he was so often overwhelmed, and almost driven mad. *Non enim illum fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris, suasque ipse pœnas fateretur. Ad senatum etiam, his verbis orsus est epistolam.* “*Quid scribam vobis, Patres Conscripti, aut quomodo non scribam, aut quid omnino scribam hoc tempore, Dî me Deaque pejus perdant, quam perire quotidie sentio, si scio.*” *Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant; neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus, et cruciatus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur.*

O, MY good fellow-travellers, you will soon, from the coast of *Naples*, see that island, which is rendered so eternally infamous by the cursed memory of this its most diabolical inhabitant. You will also see in the country of *Naples* itself, something that may perhaps be considered as a kind of type or emblem of the great contrast of two such characters

characters as these. But may you always remember, that the serenity and sweetness of the paradisiacal landscapes and real Elysian fields on that coast, though so strongly contrasted with the horrors of the neighbouring *Volcanoes* (frequently bursting forth in roaring rivers of liquid fire, in clouds of darkness, and in showers of flaming brimstone) that even this *most striking contrast of a terrestrial heaven and hell*, is but a weak emblem of the difference even in this life between virtue and vice; and still less so of their infinite and eternal difference in the world to come.

BUT, if you please, we will now cross over to the opposite area, and there visit a monument of antiquity, in itself highly venerable, but particularly so to us in our present happy and noble employment.

* * *

In the opposite area is preserved a great and square sepulchral stone urn, the antique inscription on which is still remaining in large and deep characters:

Offa

Agrippinae, M. Agrippae, Divi Augusti neptis,

Uxoris Germanici, &c.

THE company, after having for some time surveyed this urn with melancholy pleasure, again gave their attention to *Crito*, who proceeded as follows.

IF we examine the conduct of *Germanicus* in his domestic life, we shall find him in that, as well as in so many other parts of his character, infinitely superior both in honour and happiness to *Tiberius*. *Tiberius* was indeed, in the early part of his life, a good brother; (for the amiable qualities of *Drusus* were irresistible) but he afterwards grew to be an enemy to all his family: he was a bad son, and a cruel husband to a wicked wife.

GERMANICUS, on the contrary, possessed all the united virtues and felicities of a family life. He was at first a good brother, and a good son: he afterwards became a good father. Above all things, he was most happy in this his *Agrippina*; who, partly by her own goodness, partly by her beloved husband's influence, attained that dignity of character, which renders her one of the principal examples of conjugal virtue among the matrons of antient *Rome*. With her alone *Germanicus* passed his youth; in her arms he expired. For he had the great happiness (may all this young company have the same!) of marrying early in life; and of soon blessing both himself and his parents

parents with the sight of no less than six of his children.

O MY dear young friends, (continued *Crito*, addressing himself to one of the young gentlemen) you, who so frequently are enquiring after proper subjects in the *Roman* story, on which to employ some of the painters, whether *English* or *Italian*, now in this city; what subject can you find either more pleasing or more instructive, than the scene of *Augustus*, placed on his imperial seat; and enacting the laws against celibacy, which at that time (in a manner much more destructive than any civil war) was wasting and extirpating the greatest families in *Rome*. Seated in that state, (perhaps on this very hill) he commanded that his great grand-children, the children of *Germanicus*, should be brought into his presence. He then, in sight of the whole senate, took up some of these little ones in his arms; others he placed on the knees of the young prince their father; and with all the happy and amiable pride of a parent, shewed to the assembly all these his treasures; inviting the young nobility of *Rome* to be sensible of such happiness, and to hasten to follow the example of his *Germanicus*.

SUCH was *Germanicus* when he had scarce completed his twenty-fourth year. — Compare with

this charming spectacle the character of *Tiberius* even in his old age. But indeed the contrast now grows far too dismal and horrid to be described either by pen or pencil.

No wonder, as soon as the death of that vilest tyrant was known in this city, that the universal hatred and detestation of his memory should break out with such fury. No wonder that in all these streets, the populace should be crying out with the loudest clamours; some, that his body, as unworthy of sepulchre, should be thrown into the river; (*Tiberius in Tiberim*) others, that it should with all ignominy be dragged from the palace gates to the public gibbet; or exposed, like the corpses of other less guilty malefactors on the *Scala Gemonia*. (The *Scala Gemonia* were situate in that crooked and steep lane which is on your left-hand in descending from hence to the antient prisons.)

ON the contrary, where shall we find, in the history of the whole world, a more pleasing scene of virtue, attended by public love, than the life and death of *Germanicus*?

O MY dear fellow travellers, with what pleasure did you, while at *Lyons*, visit the most pleasing hill, and magnificent prospect of *Antiquaille*

quaille * and *Forviere*, the place where this most beloved prince is said to have been born? With what affection did you a few days past visit here at *Rome* his sepulchre? Indeed from his cradle to his grave his character was always most amiable as well as most respectable.

Virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit, maxime probatus & dilectus à suis : dilectus etiam ab omnibus ; in vitâ, & multò magis in morte, & post mortem.

SUCH were the effects of that goodness (which characterizes all true heroes) which enchanted all that approached him; and of which the reputation was so great, as to have gained to him multitudes of friends and admirers, even in regions which he never had visited. *Flebant Germanicum etiam ignoti.* But if such was the respect and regard of those who had never even seen him, what must have been the love and veneration of those who had really felt, and been made happy by his goodness? The provincials to whom he had been so good a governor; the allies to whom he had been so benevolent and friendly a general; even the enemies of the *Roman* state to whom he had been so merciful a conqueror; all these cordially joined in most highly honouring and lamenting their most beloved

* *Antiquum Palatium Fori veteris.*

beloved *Germanicus*. But in *Italy*, and here at *Rome*, the sincere affection and zealous love which was borne to him while alive, and the general grief, desolation, and even despair, which attended, and for so long a time followed his departure; these were in all respects so *very* great, as far to exceed any power of description; with which even the sight of that most eloquent picture which we so admired this morning, or the genius of the place where we now stand (leaning on the very urn of his *Agrippina*) can possibly inspire us.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
 Tam chari capitis? Præcipe lugubres
 Cantus, Melpomene! cui liquidam pater
 Vocem cum citbarâ dedit.*

O MY dearest companions both in studies and travels, why should we not this very afternoon pay a second visit to the most pleasing garden of his mausolæum? There, seated perhaps on that very turf, (which once made part of the amiable form of *Germanicus* or of his *Agrippina*) why should we not read together the descriptions given by the antient historians, particularly *Tacitus*, of that most striking and most moving scene? And oh! that your reflections on it may be such, as not to be unworthy of the great strength of sense of that historian, or of (what is infinitely more desirable)

desirable) the great spirit of benevolence in this his principal and favourite hero.

YET let us not conclude this morning's lecture, without adding to it one remark. We have often with the greatest pleasure read the amazing descriptions of the so great public love and admiration, as well as grief, which followed the urn of *Germanicus* through the whole length of *Italy*, from *Brundisium* even to his grave here at *Rome*.

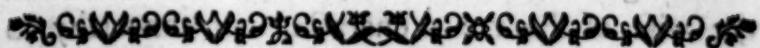
You have also in your journey hither, by way of *France*, (particularly when in the neighbourhood of *Straßburg*) often re-perused, and sometimes not without tears of pleasure, the account given by the *French* historians, of the similar public love and veneration, which attended the corpse of that similar hero, *Turenne*; through all the cities and provinces of that great kingdom, quite to the royal mausolæums at *St. Dennis*.

You have also in your own times been witnesses of similar public honours paid in our own country to the memory of the youthful hero, general *Wolfe*. What address did any city or county of *Great Britain* then present to the royal throne, in which his name was not introduced in terms of the greatest praise and public love? With what eloquence was the senate of *England* then moved,
unanimously

unanimously to order a sepulchre to be erected to his memory, at the public charge, in *Westminster-Abbey*, that royal mausolæum of our *British* heroes and worthies of all kinds?

If there be in us any sense of *such* virtue, or any sense of *such* praise, let us often think on *these* things.

CHAP.



CHAP. VI.

TWENTY-FIFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE *Villa Medicis*, most fortunately for all strangers, is situate in that part of *Rome* near which they generally lodge, and is always open for the public pleasure. This villa has the particular honour of having once belonged to that great *Florentine* family, which revived the arts and sciences of antiquity. Its high walls, on the garden front, are entirely covered with the richest basso relievos: its gardens are filled with several of the most valuable antiquities of *Egypt*, *Greece*, and *Rome*.

THIS evening, (being Sunday) as *Crito* was sitting alone in the portico of that villa, and viewing from thence the quiet and solemn prospect of the neighbouring pine groves; he was joined by his pupil, and by his two other young friends. They enquired of him what was to be the subject and place of the next morning's conversation.

THE next character (replied *Crito*) which I had intended to propose to your consideration, is
following

following the order of history, was that of *ARRIA* the wife of *Pætus*: a character not unworthy to follow those of the princely consorts of *Drusus* and *Germanicus*. The place (which on that occasion you would perhaps have thought most proper to have visited) would have been either the remains of the temple of *Pudicitia Patritia* near your admired fane of *Vesta*; or probably rather the *Ludovisi* villa, where the so famous statue of *Arria* and of her husband are still preserved.

I SHOULD have had great pleasure in visiting with you that collection, and in hearing your opinions on comparing that sculpture with the sculpture in the villa *Mattei*, said to be the representation of *Portia* and her *Brutus*: but I should have had still more pleasure in attending to your reflections on the *real*, exalted characters of those two heroines.

PERHAPS among these six colossal statues of matrons, which adorn this very portico in which we are now sitting, some one may be the representation of some great *Roman* character. For the *female* characters have certainly in several instances done as much honour to *Rome*, as any worthies of our sex, and deserve as high a rank both in its history, and in all its other monuments and memorials. I wish, that in studying the great characters

characters of this nation, I had sufficiently attended to *their* merit.

* * *

THE company now descended into the middle shady part of the gardens, and there (while walking) continued their conversation in the following manner.

I MUST desire you (said *Crito*) to excuse me for not having prepared (as was my intention) some account of *Arria* for your perusal to-morrow morning. Indeed my thoughts have been deeply engaged on *other* subjects. Give me leave therefore to desire you to take on yourselves this employment of drawing up that character, or any other female *Roman* character, which you may perhaps prefer to it.

THERE cannot surely be any subject more pleasing to you all, or more proper on which to exercise your thoughts, than some of these great examples of conjugal virtue. On this state of virtuous union with a virtuous woman, all the remainder of your lives will in great measure depend: and you will all, probably soon after your return home, be made happy in that state. I thought yesterday of you all, when we were talking of the happy and *early* marriage of *Germanicus*.

manicus. Expectant vos etiam jampridem domi Tibicines & Hymenæum qui cantent.

*Felices ter & amplius
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis
Supremâ citiùs solvet amor die.*

BUT let me repeat to you some other verses on this subject, (the composition of a modern Italian poet *) which are more suitable to this day.

*O te beatum, qui Deum castè colis
Ejusque servas semitas!
Tuæ labore quod manus paraverint
Te nutriet fructu ubere;
Tibi bene est, eritque; cunctis affluis,
Et semper afflues bonis.
Qualis tuis conjuncta vitis mœnibus
Uvis abundat dulcibus,
Sic prole multâ te beabit optima
Uxor, ferens natas pares.
Virentibusque seu novella frondibus
Vigent olivæ germina,*

Venusta

• Signior Rossi of Arrezzo-Arretium in Tuscany.

T
end o
leanin
again
young
be. fur
young
much
which
all stat
piece o
turn in
expres
short co
a comp
to all y
VOL.

*Venusta mensam sic tuam circumdabit
Florens corona liberum.*

*En! ut bonis ditabitur quamplurimis
Timere qui novit Deum!*

*Hæc largiatur, pluraque Ille munera
Tibi arce ex Sioniâ:*

*Patriæque perfruare felicitis bonis
Per cuncta vitæ tempora:*

*Cernas tuorum liberorum filios,
Lætamque pace patriam.*

THE company were now arrived at the further end of the middle walk of the garden; when *Crito*, leaning on the iron rails, paused a while; and then again addressed himself to his pupil, and his other young companions. May you all in a few years be surrounded with as numerous and beautiful a young family, (but much more long lived, and much more the favourites of heaven!) as this which here surrounds *Niobe* in this most noble of all statuary groups, probably the great masterpiece of the great *Scopas*! But let us take another turn in this walk; and give me leave again to express my hopes, that you will favour me with a short composition on this subject. A copy of such a composition by you will give as much pleasure to all your parents in *England*, as that * which

VOL. II.

F

went

* Vid. last chapter of the third book.

went from hence last week. If among the female worthies of *Rome*, you should chuse the character of (that *Roman Panthea*) *Arria*, I need not mention to you, that some proper materials for it may be extracted out of that famous epigram of *Martial*, and out of that epistle of *Pliny*, which you was lately reading; the xvith epistle (if I remember right) of the iii^d book. You may also have an opportunity of introducing in it that strong contrast (which you remarked a few days ago in our walk near the *Fornices Circi Maximi*, at the foot of the *Palatine* hill) between this character of *Arria*, and that of her persecutor and murderer, the most infamous *Messalina*.

BUT indeed for contrasts to conjugal virtue and happiness, you need not search in any other place than in this garden. One contrast already offers itself to you at the end of this cross walk: I mean that too fine statue of the wretched *Cleopatra*. How wretched indeed, in the midst of all her pride and luxury, must *Cleopatra* have appeared, even to herself, in comparison of some *Roman* matrons her contemporaries! two particularly, whose reputation was well known in the court of *Egypt*, *Cornelia* the wife of *Pompey*, and *Octavia* the most deserving wife of the most undeserving husband, *Mark Anthony*: *Octavia*, in some respects,

* Vid. in
ness of char
nis. Vid. al
of the Dead

spects, the *Chelonis* of Rome*: *Octavia* who (next at least to the matron of the Roman charity) deserves the highest honours among the worthies of her sex:

Prima locum sanctas Heroidas inter haberes ;
Prima bonis animi conspiciere tui.

AT the other end of this principal walk, another contrast for the other sex will draw your attention. I mean that house in this next vineyard, which was the place of the untimely and unworthy death of the great *Raphael*. How much indeed is it to be lamented, that such a man should so fall ! He, who could so well paint to others the happiness of conjugal love, the sweetest virtues of the female mind, and all the heavenly felicity, amiableness, and dignity of a young and holy family.

BUT give me leave to conclude this evening's walk, with again desiring that you will draw up for me this character of *Arria*, or (in its stead) that of *Octavia*. I, in the mean time, shall be employing myself on subjects more proper for my

F 2

age

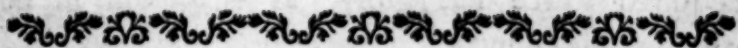
* Vid. in *Plutarch's* Lives of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, the greatness of character of the *Spartan* matrons, particularly of *Chelonis*. Vid. also the character of *Octavia*, in the late Dialogues of the Dead.

age and profession; subjects, which indeed have filled my thoughts almost all this day; and on which I shall be very glad to converse with you to-morrow, in that solemn pine grove of the villa *Borghese*; and on Tuesday, in that spacious and splendid piazza of *St. Peter's*; both of which noble, though different, objects so greatly adorn these two different prospects; which we now at once see open to us, on each side of this one of the most magnificent, as well as most pleasant, villas of *Rome*.

CHAP.

goo
his
first
the
on
out
high
still
of an

TH
in pa
Salar
brave
nobly
the Ro
deed w
greatest



C H A P. VII.

TWENTY-SIXTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ON Monday morning *Crito* walked out, early and alone, to the pine groves of the *Borghese* villa. His young friends were too good-natured to be willing immediately to disturb his solitary thoughts there; and therefore proposed first to take a short ride for an hour or two during the cool of the morning. They accordingly set out on horseback from the *Porta Salara*; and rode out into the country for two or three miles; highly entertained with the noble landskips, and still more with the affecting and instructive scene of antiquities by which they past.

THE noble hearts of this young company were in particular all *inflamed* at the sight of the *Salarian* bridge: that very bridge, on which that brave young foldier, *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, so nobly distinguished himself in full front both of the *Roman* and hostile armies. How glorious indeed was the spirit of that young hero? With the greatest generosity, he had in *Rome* defended the

cause of his father ; and here soon afterwards he acquired scarce less glory, as champion in the cause of his country.

How great a contrast to this noble scene was the place which they saw about a mile further? *Serpentara* ; the house of *Phaon* ; and the place of the most mean and miserable death of that tyrant and parricide *Nero* ; (as is particularly recounted by *Suetonius*.) How full indeed was his last hour of many circumstances of the greatest folly and cowardice ? and how dreadful, when we consider the punishments which by all mankind are universally believed to be prepared for such wickedness in the other world ; and of which the last and most terrible pains of death are only the beginning ? *Defecit exstantibus regentibusque oculis, usque ad horrorem, formidinemque visentium.*

FROM *Serpentara* the company returned to the *Porta Salara* ; by that very road along which *Nero*, with his vile companions, (as *Suetonius* relates) fled during the last night of his life, full of fear, shame, confusion, and horror of conscience.

Θανεῖν μ' ἀνῶγει συγγαμος, μητήρ, πατήρ*.

DISCOURSING

* *De mausolæo sponte foribus patefactis exaudita vox est, nomine cum cientis.* SÜETONIUS, Vita Neronis.

* It was intended for the Mausolæum.

DISCOURSING of these dreadful subjects (to which the human mind so earnestly gives its attention) they found themselves, before they expected it, returned very near the walls and gates of *Rome*. Then turning their horses down a little walled lane to the right, they passed among several villas of the *Roman* nobility, and arrived in about a quarter of an hour at the villa *Borghese*. Here they found their friend *Crito* sitting at the roots of a tall pine; the *Annals* of *Tacitus*, and the dying Dialogues of *Socrates* lying by him on the grass; his heart overflowing with the calmest happiness, and his countenance as serene and bright as the morning itself.

ON informing him what scenes of antiquity they had visited in their ride, he listened to them with great pleasure; till, on their mentioning the name of *Serpentara*, his countenance changed; and I too (said he) about a couple of hours ago in my short walk hither from the *Porta Flaminia*, have had the disagreeable occasion of passing by a similar scene, near *Muro Torto*, the sepulchre of the same tyrant*. Such is the horror still remaining at *Rome* of his memory, that to this day that is the place appointed for the interment

F 4

of

* It was in the mausolæum of the *Domitii* family that *Nero* was interred. *Muro Torto* is thought to be part of that mausolæum.

of all the public malefactors, who die impenitent. Still greater was the terror of that place some ages past; when, by the superstition and ignorance of the times, wailing ghosts were imagined frequently to be seen sitting near it, and the cries and shrieks of hell heard from it. This circumstance, as you all know, was the occasion of the erection of that antient church now standing near it, and bearing that particular name of *O libera nos de pœnis inferi!*

As I was passing by that place, I could not help recollecting the description in your admired *Sophocles* * of the tremendous grove of the furies near *Athens*: but I ought to have reflected at the same time, how frequently a philosophical judgment may strongly discover the real voice of nature, and the genuine suggestions of reason and conscience, even in opinions which, as this, have otherwise perhaps so very great a mixture of ignorance and superstition. Saying this, he walked on with them through the grove to the villa itself.

For some moments here the conversation took a different turn; some of the young gentlemen admired again (though already so often viewed) the antique statues and marble bas-reliefs, with which the whole outside of this country palace,
(still

* Vid. *Ædipus in Colono.*

(still more richly than that of the villa *Medici*) is covered on all its four fronts. *Crito's* pupil took notice of the history of the person who erected this sumptuous edifice: it was cardinal *Scipio*; who (being when young in a state of poverty and obscurity) was deserted by his own family, but charitably received under the protection and patronage of that of the *Borghese*: rising afterwards to a very great fortune, he took the name of his benefactor, and from a principle of gratitude built and left this splendid palace to the descendants of that family, to which he had himself thus originally and totally owed his own exaltation.

THIS amiable young gentleman was proceeding with pleasure to enlarge on this act of gratitude; but *Crito* observed, that highly deserving of attention as these noble antique sculptures were, and the far more noble modern history of this place, and of its founder; yet at present the business of the day was such as to deserve their *whole* attention. That from the subject of their thoughts this morning at *Serpentara*, they might all in some degree imagine how terrible the pain of that self-condemnation will be, when a man shall find himself really approaching to his last hour, under all the pangs, confusion, and horrors of a bad conscience: a bad conscience (he added) so terrifying

rifing and tormenting even in the times of the greatest health and outward prosperity, (as * both *Tiberius* and *Nero* so dreadfully experienced) but which must still be infinitely more terrible, in the near prospect of the gates of hell, of the powers of darkness, and the bitter pains of eternal death.

MAY we all think deeply of this sometimes; more frequently than sometimes; though I hope and pray, that none of this company will ever, ever feel it. O my friends, bless God that you are not of this number; that you have time and strength to employ yourselves in such abundant works of goodness, as will bring you peace at the last!

WOULD to GOD that it was now in my power to shew to you, or worthily to describe to you, the exalted happiness of a truly Christian death-bed! What I have now to shew you, is indeed far inferior; yet such, as does very well deserve your attention.

SAYING this, he entered into the villa, and turned on his right hand into that first apartment which

* Vid. Introduction to the character of *Scævola*, and the description of the temple of *Vesta*, in the third book. Vid. also the contrast between the characters of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*, in this book.

which is so nobly adorned by that famous statue, in everlasting *Egyptian* marble, of *Seneca*, sinking indeed under the languor of death; but with eyes so elevated, and with such gesture of countenance, lips, and hands, as seems to supply the place of his own most exalted eloquence, and of his own most elevated philosophical reasonings. *Novissimo quoque momento suppeditante eloquentiâ, advocatis scriptoribus pleraque tradidit.*

WHAT pity is it, that *Tacitus* had not proceeded to insert in his annals that last discourse, from which the idea of this statue was certainly taken, and which, in the times of that historian, was the subject of such general admiration, though now unhappily lost? Most unhappily indeed: for surely the reasonings of such a man at such a time, (that is of one of the wisest of the philosophical world when in his highest state of wisdom, and of his fullest experience) all that he then said, in *that hour of sincerity*, of the excellency of virtue, of the *real* emptiness of riches, and of the *real* vanity of all human grandeur, would form one of the most proper, the most deeply striking lessons of instruction, for the minds and memories not only of the youthful, but of the aged also.

A DEEP silence ensued, while the eyes of all the company were fixed on those of that statue.

CRITO,

CRITO, after some time, resumed the discourse, desiring them to sit down fronting it; and then to elevate their minds to a still higher subject. For the character, which he was now going to read to them, was not that of *Seneca*, but of one far superior; one of the very highest perhaps in the whole history of the heathen world, who lived at the same time with *Seneca*, and died the same kind of death under the tyranny of the same *Nero*.

T H R A S E A S.

THRASEAS was one of the most humane and one of the best of men, though he lived in the age of the very greatest cruelty and wickedness. He equalled, if not surpassed, the virtues of *Cato*; though under the reign of *Nero* himself. The times indeed made it impracticable for so wise a man to attempt to imitate *Cato* in his strong struggles for liberty, and unyielding resistance to tyranny and usurpation: for liberty was now no more; its spirit, almost its name and memory, had long been perished. *Rome*, so proud formerly of its power and wisdom, lay prostrate at the feet of tyrants, whose greatest praise was that they were madmen, or stupid idiots*: for there was no kind of humiliating subjection, which the pride of *Rome*

* *Caligula, Claudius, Nero.*

Rome was not to suffer. In this state of public affairs, what was the object of the life of *Tbraseas*, of him who was a person of the highest rank and fortune in *Rome*? The most exalted and venerable sanctity of private life; the most undaunted, tho' patient, expectation of death. In both far superior to *Cato* himself.

IN his death, he was at least equal to this his great contemporary *Seneca*: in his life, he far excelled him. For *Seneca* (the faint image perhaps in some respects of *Cicero*) though so respectable for his eloquence, and still more for the grandeur of his moral philosophical sentiments; (those his philosophical works indeed are perhaps some of the most valuable, the most noble treasures of the learned world) yet in adversity, it must be owned, he sunk very low; in prosperity, grew much too fond of riches and honour. Stains, which even the many real great virtues of his life, and the nobleness of his last hour cannot wipe away: stains which he most probably acquired (a most humiliating just judgment on himself, and a most strong instructive lesson to us) by his over confidence in the strength of his own virtue; (which he presumptuously flattered himself was superior to all temptations, both of prosperity and adversity) and by his attributing and ascribing with
so

so blind and stoical pride whatever was good in his own breast to himself alone. How different (not to speak of the great *contemporary Apostolical* characters) does the life of *Thraseas* appear? How much more noble and uniform? No marks in it of pride; (though he was a *Stoic*) nor, on the other hand, any of degeneracy, though it was continued to an advanced old age.

COVERED with glory as he was by the virtues of a private life, yet he did not omit doing to the utmost what good the times would really allow him in a public station.

HE was a senator, an office then of little real dignity, because of little power in doing good; yet in it did he frequently shew an example of great fortitude, and great wisdom duly tempered together. He formed, proposed, and, by the weight of his wisdom and goodness, carried several salutary laws. He checked in some degree the rapine and oppression of the governors of the provinces. He checked in some degree the tyrannical schemes of *Nero* himself over the inhabitants of *Rome*. While the rest of the senators were the most abject flatterers, and instruments of the wickedness, of their tyrant, (a tyrant so justly detested then and through all succeeding ages) *Thraseas* alone

alone supported the dignity of virtue. With the most noble indignation he refused to join in their approbation of such wickedness: more than once he publicly left his seat when such matters were under deliberation, and went out of the senate, openly rejoycing that though *Nero* might indeed kill him for this, yet it was not in the power of the tyrant really to hurt or harm him in the least.

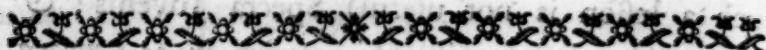
WITH the same sentiments he really met his death. *Post trucidatos enim tot insignes viros, ad extremum Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit interfecto Tbraseâ.* What a noble scene does that hour present?

BUT here let us pause a little, and consider the state of this great man's family; and of all the virtuous persons who composed it, and who probably owed indeed the greatness of their virtues to their imitating one another. Never was there a more noble family-piece: himself, *venerabili specie*, and the most virtuous character of his age and country. His mother, the famous *Arria*; his son-in-law, *Helvidius Priscus*; and his grandson, *Pliny the younger*; his friend, the famous *Rusticus Arulenus*.

HIS

HIS wife, and son-in-law, with *Arulenus*, and many other of his friends, attended him in his last hour. For while the senate were sitting, deliberating publicly (though surrounded with *Nero's* guards) on sentencing him to death; (which indeed they did not, *sine summâ mestitiâ ac pavore*) *Thraseas* retired into his garden, *vesperascente jam die*. Ibi illustrium virorum fœminarumque cœtus agebat; maximè intentus *Demetrio* philosopho, cum quo inquirebat de naturâ animæ, & dissociatione spiritûs, corporisque. Quando *Arulenus* offerebat se intercessurum senatûs consulto (nam plebis tribunus erat) cohibuit spiritus ejus *Thraseas*, ne inutilia & sibi exitiosa tentaret. Conjugem tentantem exemplum *Arriæ* matris sequi, monet retinere vitam, (how superior in this to *Seneca*?) filiæque communi subsidium unicum non adimere. Flentes amicos (nuntiatum enim jam erat de condemnatione) facessere properè hortatur, ne pericula sua miscere cum sorte damnati. Tum progressus in porticum, he met the officer, guards, and executioners. He received the death-warrant, *Latitiæ* prior; quia *Helvidium* generum suum (whom he was apprehensive would have been sentenced to death with him) *Italiâ tantum arceri cognoverat*. And then, though now wounded in many places, and suffering in the pains of death, he called the officer to him with these words, (which indeed seem to be properly addressed to the youth of all succeeding

succeeding times ; for there are no times in which such a lesson is not useful) *Specta Juvenis ! & omen quidem Dii probibeant, cæterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animam expedit constantibus exemplis.* And then (like *Seneca*, who had indeed nobly preceeded him in the path of death but a little while before) he sprinkled his blood on the ground, *Libemus, inquit, Jovi Liberatori, — and expired.*



C H A P. VIII.

TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ON Tuesday morning these four *English* gentlemen set out from *Rome* in their coach; and passing just opposite the great hospital at *Ripa Grande*, and by the *English* burying-ground near *Cestius's* pyramid, they went out from the *Ostian* gate. In about half an hour they arrived at that solitary and venerable church, which *Theodosius* the Great begun to erect there, to the memory of *St. Paul*: that famous church; the outside, and roof, and pavement of which indeed are so mean; (*Theodosius* being dead, and the *Roman* empire overturned, before this edifice was finished) but which in the inside is so nobly spacious, as to exceed in the breadth of its body the principal square in *Rome*, *Piazza Navona*; and is so magnificently ornamented with ninety lofty and beautiful columns of the richest *Grecian* marble, and *Egyptian* granite.

WITH great satisfaction the company passed about an hour in this grand church; and from thence proceeded

ceeded along some fertile fields, and verdant meadows, to the famous valley of *Aquæ Salviæ*. Having seen whatever is remarkable in this place, they returned home by way of the *Porta Latina*, the great amphitheatre, the *Carcere Tulliano* at the foot of the *Capitol*, and the church of St. Mary's in the *Via Lata*.

IN the afternoon, when the air was now growing cool, *Crito* with his pupil called at the lodgings of their two friends. They found them drinking their coffee at a table covered with many books of antiquities and history; with many impressions in wax of seals bearing the royal and republican heads of *Rome*; and above all with many coins of the upper empire. *Crito* proposed to the company to take their evening walk together: which they complied with, as soon as they had finished their coffee, and every one of them had separately perused the following paper, which *Crito* had laid on their table among the seals and coins.

SUFFERING VIRTUE.

THERE seems to be some resemblance between the beginning and ending of the history of the imperial family of the *Cæsars*, and that of the antient kings of *Rome*. *Julius*, the founder of its grandeur, seems in his martial life, and in the manner and place

of his death, to bear some likeness to *Romulus*; and *Augustus*, in the mildness and peaceableness of above forty years of his long and happy reign, seems to revive some image of *Numa*. The history of this family ends also in a *Nero*, as that of that race of kings did in a *Tarquin*.

BUT indeed *Nero* far surpassed *Tarquin* in wickedness, and far ought it have been from us to have contaminated this book even with the mention of his name, if it was not for the memory of those good men, who patiently suffered under his cruel tyranny. For a noble philosophical patience, and quiet submission to torments and death, was indeed *the characteristic of the Roman fortitude in those times*. The fortitude of so many great men in these their sufferings, was indeed perhaps more noble than all the courage of the antient heroes of this country, in all their former wars and conquests.

FANNIUS * (the friend of *Pliny*) wrote an account of the last hours of those many illustrious persons, who suffered under this most bloody tyrant: and it is perhaps a great loss to the world that this noble work has not reached our ages. Such an history would make us thoroughly sensible of the

* Vid. *Pliny's* Epistle to *Maximus*, book v. ep. 5.

the happiness of our own times, and of our own government; and would make us thankful to Providence, that these times of extreme persecution happen so seldom. On the other hand, such an history would present to our view scenes of the sudden destruction of the most rich, powerful, and noble families of the world, much more instructive; and scenes of afflicted innocence, much more moving; than the finest set of tragedies, though wrote on the same favourite subject, viz. *Suffering Virtue*. Such an history would also shew to us, that as prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; so virtuous adversity is not without many comforts and hopes, and high pleasure of heart. It would shew us indeed many representations of the force of virtue in its last hours, much more elevated; and many exalted lessons of fortitude superior to pain and death, much more strongly inculcated; than could have been done by any philosophical discourses on such subjects. Such an history, plainly and judiciously wrote, would make us ashamed to complain or be uneasy at any of the little (real or imaginary) trials of adversity which may happen to ourselves; and would prepare us for supporting the greatest, if we should ever be called to them.

Fleant & gemant, quorum delicatas mentes longa voluptatum contemplatio enervavit: (quâ cum diffluimus

nec apīs aculeum ferre possumus) & ad levissimarum injuriarum motus collabantur. Nos autem (talium virorum exempla spectantes, & inter hæc studia nutritos) pudeat laborem & calamitatem ægrè ferre.

Feramus vulnera fortunæ, velut veterani, sine ululatu, sine vociferatione. Libera sit nostra virtus; inviolabilis; immota; inconcussa; adversus apparatus terribilium reſtos oculos teneat. Nihil ex vultu mutet. SENECA.

HENCE should we learn also not to be weakly fond even of prosperity; but to be superior to all the temptations *utriusque fortunæ*.

BUT what would the scene be, if we should add to it those many other virtuous men, who suffered in the three preceeding reigns, under the malice of *Tiberius*, the madness of *Caligula*, and the stupidity of *Claudius*? What an appearance indeed does the history of *Rome* make from the death of *Augustus* to that of *Nero*? How justly may that space of time (about fifty years) be looked upon as the epocha of suffering virtue? The history of all ages perhaps affords nothing equal to it of the same kind. The catalogue of these illustrious sufferers is so long, that the size of this book will not admit of enlarging on them here. Even the historians of those miserable times seemed to be
fatigued

fatigued with so long a series of cruelties, and to have contented themselves with reckoning only the names, and giving short characters of these sufferers, (whose virtues were indeed at that time generally known and celebrated in the world) without entering so much as might have been wished (for the sake of posterity) into a longer account of each. But we have the less reason to regret this loss; as we find fully described, in the history of the same times, *other examples of much higher merit, both in doing good and suffering evil; and which particularly teach us the best way of acquiring the highest fortitude.* *Non enim tam sui fiduciâ nitendum est, quam vota pro fortitudine facienda*.*

For we are to remember, that this period of fifty years was not only the period of suffering merit to the *Romans* alone.—It was so, in the highest degree, to the whole world.—Let us recollect *Who it was, that was then suffering in Judea.*

Forasmuch then as CHRIST has suffered for us, let us arm ourselves with the same mind. Let us not think it strange, if we are also called to the same fiery trial.—The servant is not greater than his lord.

G 4

LET

* *Cicero, Tusc. Quest. lib. v. in initio.*

○ LET us also recollect how many of his most holy disciples (men like ourselves) were then undergoing persecution, and meekly pouring out their blood, in many different and distant regions of the earth; but particularly within the limits of the *Roman* empire, and under the walls of *Rome* itself. Let not us contemplate only the sufferings and death of a *Seneca*; or even of a *Thraseas*; one, if not more, of the greatest *Apostles*, were then suffering at the very same time, and the very same place. The persecutions of the Christian martyrs then began to stain the annals of the history of this city. They also (like the martyrs of the Old Testament) were tortured; (*not accepting deliverance*) they were stoned; they were sawn asunder; they were slain with the sword. They, of whom the world was not worthy. Περιηλθον εν μηλωταις, εν αλγείοις δερμασιν, υσερβμενοι, θλιβομενοι, κακουμενοι. The very method * by which the first Christians were by *Nero's* command tormented to death in his *Circus*, in the very place where *St. Peter's* church now stands.

AFTER

* Vid. *Tacitus*, *Annal.* xv. *Pereuntibus Christianis addita ludibria; ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent; aut crucibus affixi; aut flammandi; et, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.*

* * *

AFTER the perusal of this paper, the company walked down in silence from the *Colle Hortulano**, (on which pleasant hill their lodgings were situate) and passing by the church of cardinal *Borromeo*, and the lying-in-hospital at the magnificent *Ripetta*, (which is on the banks of the *Tiber*) they took boat, and crossed that narrow but rapid stream. They landed on the opposite bank among some gardens; for the whole large space between this part of the *Tiber* and the *Vatican* hill, is now nothing but gardens, fields, and meadows.

WHILE they were crossing these, the conversation at last began; on the subject of the latter part of *Crito's* paper, and on what they had seen in the morning, and in general on the Christian antiquities of *Rome*. Among the many uncertain, and many false antiquities of this kind, (said *Crito*) truth will oblige us to own that some few are very real, and very well deserving our attention. For (not to take notice of the great amphitheatre, which all historians, particularly, if I am not mistaken, our own great Dr. *Usher*, agree to have been certainly the scene of the death of that most primitive saint, who was the disciple

* Its modern name is *Monte di Trinità*.

of St. *John*, and successor of St. *Peter* in the bishopric of *Antioch*) it is not, I believe, controverted, but that St. *John* himself suffered here at *Rome* the fiery tryal, though not the death of martyrdom. And as to the great apostle of the *Gentiles*, St. *Paul*, it is most certain that he was even a citizen of this city, and that most part of his writings have this place and this country for their scene. The epistle to the *Hebrews* was wrote by him when in *Italy*: that to the *Romans* was, as appears by the title, addressed to the Christian inhabitants of this city: the epistles to the *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, the second to *Timothy*, and that to *Philemon*, were all wrote by St. *Paul*, while at *Rome* *. For here, as we all know, was he brought prisoner from *Judea*; here he lived a considerable time, teaching not only the chief of the *Jews*, but many of the *Gentiles* also, particularly several even of *Cæsar's* household; here were his glorious chains made manifest in the whole *Prætorium*; here was he brought before the face of the lion, that is *Nero*; here at last finished he his course; and accomplished (far more nobly than any of the heathen heroes of this city) his holy warfare.

ALL

* It seems very probable, that the Acts of the Apostles also were wrote at the same place by St. *Luke* under the inspection of St. *Paul*.

ALL this is most certain, though the particular spots which they shew here as the place of his *bired* house, and of his prison, of his burial, and of his martyrdom, may perhaps all (particularly the first) be imagined to be so without any sure foundation. Certainly the *Roman* tradition as to these events, particularly the last, is mixed with many additional circumstances, quite legendary and fabulous.

I CANNOT however omit most earnestly to recommend to you for your Sunday's private studies, while at *Rome*, some of the writings which that great Apostle composed on this spot, particularly the exalted moral parts of them. For surely it seems something very absurd, after daily applying ourselves with so much and so laudable attention, to the so imperfect characters of the Heathen worthies of this place; at the same time to shut our eyes to *his* instructions and example, who in so high a degree, after his Divine Master, was a light to lighten even the most learned part of the *Gentiles*, (particularly by his being so ready to preach the Gospel, not only at *Athens*, but at *Rome* also) and to be the glory of his own people, whether we consider him as an *Israelite*, or as a *Roman* citizen.

WITH these thoughts I waked, and left my bed by sun-rise last Sunday morning: I then immediately

mediately withdrew into my closet; and there (after some short, but, I hope, not ill-intended devotion) had the great happiness to pass several of the calm, serene, and fresh hours of the day, in reading *alone and on my knees* that most divine epistle, which *St. Paul* wrote from this place to his most beloved children at *Philippi*.

By this study did I prepare myself to attend you afterwards at your lodgings on that exalted business, which since the first beginning of our travels has so constantly called us together every Sunday morning, and which has thus regularly laid the surest foundation for the happiness and goodness of every succeeding week.

BUT, even while I was thus reading that epistle, my heart and my mind often recurred to you. Nor can I be sorry for this wandering of my thoughts. For I am sure, that *I ought always to thank my GOD upon every remembrance of you, always in every prayer making request for you all with joy. And this I ought to pray, that your love may abound yet more and more: that ye may be filled with all the fruits of righteousness: that your moderation may be known unto all men: that ye may become the children of GOD, and shine as lights in the world: and that I also may on your account rejoice, that I have not laboured in vain; for ye are my joy, and my crown. O my beloved brethren, may ye do*
the

the things, which ye have learned! and may the God of Peace (that Peace, which passeth all understanding) be for ever with you! [Vid. Epistle to the Philippians.]

O MY dear friends, may that heavenly resignation so breathing in this Apostle's writings, may his so fervent piety, (a piety which was in him, from his youth up, constantly accompanied with much learning, and with a conscience void of offence towards God and man) may his abundant love to his enemies, and unlimited charity to all men, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, *Jews* or *Romans*, though so persecuted by them all, have its due and indelible effect on our minds; such an effect, as is indeed far above my power to endeavour to explain or fully describe. But may such influence, from such writings and such an example, in all its fulness descend and rest upon you! For ill indeed should I copy the great spirit of this Apostle, if I did not from my heart wish you all to be happier, than what I can conceive or wish to myself, and that not only now on earth, but even in heaven also, to all eternity.

O MY dear friends, may you all be made blessed for myriads of ages, in the same mutual friendship and love, which now so happily connects you together! From the immense depth of that future eternity, may your happy souls then look back with pleasure to the recollection of your present employ-

employments and studies ! May this retrospect be one part of your felicity, even while your faculties shall be otherwise all-enraptured with the extatic vision of the everlasting glory of those apostles, primitive saints, and martyrs, in some of whose footsteps you are perhaps in this place now treading.

BUT why, dear Sirs, do you look thus earnestly on me ? Indeed I am *deeply* sensible of my infinite unworthiness even to pronounce any of these sacred names. Every time I make mention of them, my conscience cries out aloud to me, how unworthy I am, even of the ground on which I *ever* tread, or of the air, which *ever* blows in my face. Yet let me be permitted *gratefully* to own the high happiness with which my unworthy heart overflowed this morning, while we stood by the solitary *Porta Latina* : before which gate is said to have been the place of the sufferings of the apostle and evangelist St. *John** : whose heavenly heart was inflamed with the greatest *love* to mankind ; and who was himself, probably on that account, the most *beloved* disciple of the *beloved* Son of GOD. — *Beloved, let us love one another : for love is of GOD : and every one that loveth, is born of GOD, and knoweth GOD. He that loveth not, knoweth not GOD : for GOD IS LOVE.* [Vid. Epistle of St. *John*.]

WHILE

* Vid. the kalendar at the beginning of the Common Prayer-Book, May 6. Vide also *Cave's Historia Literaria, Sæculum Apostolicum*, vol. i. p. 16.

WHILE *Crito* in this ardent manner poured forth these *celestial benedictions* on his young friends, his whole countenance shone with a rapturous glow; and yet tears seemed to be ready to start from his eyes. He paused, but no one spoke: he wiped away the tear. The young gentlemen turned aside; for their eyes were swelling too. He looked down on the ground; and breathed from his heart a deep, but happy, sigh.

I KNOW not, said *Crito's* pupil with some hesitation, how to interrupt you in this exalted meditation: but as we are now so nearly approaching to that part of the *Vatican* valley, where *Constantine* originally erected this famous church, dedicating it to the memory of *St. Peter*; give me leave to request your opinion concerning the martyrdom of that Apostle too in this city: that great Apostle, who was the peculiar friend and almost constant companion of *St. John*; a friendship (as I have heard you observe) still more venerable and amiable, if possible, even than that of *St. Paul* with *Titus*, or with *St. Luke*.

THAT point, dear Sir, said *Crito*, has been much controverted: and, as we are so happy as not to be at present engaged in a work of controversy, I was in hopes, that we should be pardoned, if we were silent on that head. Yet, on the other hand, surely the exalted subject of our present conversation ought

ought to impart that generous warmth to all our hearts, which should disdain all mean timidity of confessing our opinion concerning it. Most probably it is very true *. But indeed I must acknowledge to my shame, that really I have not as yet sufficiently applied myself to the study of that important branch of the science of my profession, Ecclesiastical History, so as to be able to give you any full and due information on this point, and at the same time to do proper justice to the arguments of the writers on both sides of the question. But, dear Sir, let us not at present enter on any subject, which breathes the least air of controversy. Let us return to our former conversation; the happy subject of which was benevolence and love; or (to use a more proper expression) the *celestial ardour of universal charity*, with which all the true servants and saints of God have been and are always inextinguishably inflamed: *loving one another with a pure heart fervently; and laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings.* [Vid. Epistle of St. Peter.]

THE company were now arrived at the great Piazza of the Vatican; they advanced to its center,
to

* Vide Grotii Annotationes in epistolam Sti. Pet. i. cap. v. 13. See also Dr. Hammond's note on the same passage, with his prefaces to both the epistles of St. Peter. See also Bishop Pearson's Posthumous Works. See also Dr. Cave's Historia Liter. Sæculum Apostol. p. 5 & 7, where this matter is largely treated of. See also (which is a more common book) Nelson's Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England, p. 348, 349. June 29.

to the foot of the great and famous *Egyptian* obelisk. After that the young gentleman had for some time looked up with admiration on that vast mass of polished granite, *Crito* thus resumed his former discourse.

It was *around this very obelisk*, that the first Christian martyrs were so cruelly tormented and murdered by *Nero*, as was mentioned in the conclusion of the paper left on your table. On this point all historians and antiquarians are agreed. Indeed the fact seems to be past dispute; for most of the southside of this great fabric stands on the ruins of the *Circus* of *Caligula* and of *Nero*: on this very spot were the *Domitian* gardens: this very obelisk was brought from *Egypt* by *Caligula*, and placed by him very near this spot where it now stands on the spina of this *Circus*; in which *Nero* afterwards *quæsitissimis pœnis affecit Christianos*. *Hortos enim suos ei spectaculo obtulerat & Circense ludicrum edebat* *.

We yesterday regretted that *Tacitus* had not preserved the last discourse of *Seneca*: but surely
we

* It seems strange, that among all the paintings, sculptures, &c. in or near *St. Peter's*, there is not one that refers to this so celebrated and certain martyrdom of so many primitive Christians on that very spot: no inscription, ~~no memorial, no~~ ceremony, in the least relative to it.

Query. June 24. vid. D. Butler.

we have still more reason to be sorry, that the same historian has not preserved an account of the behaviour and dying words of some of these primitive martyrs. For prejudiced as he was against them, yet he strongly asserts their innocence, as to the crime for which they suffered. The spectators too of this infernal cruelty, cruel as they were themselves, and prejudiced in the same manner, yet felt their hate for these sufferers turned to pity and compassion. *Miseratio oriebatur*, says *Tacitus*: a compassion not only the usual effect of human nature in such cases, and increased by the general opinion of their innocence, but probably encreased still much more by the behaviour and dying words of these the primitive saints, and proto-martyrs in *Rome*; who, all around this very obelisk, poured forth their souls unto death; in the midst of such insults, such calumnies, and such cruelties; full of patience, full of peace, full of the hopes of immortality.

MAY we not justly apply to them (and how can we better conclude this evening's meditation?) the most moving account of the blessed proto-martyr in *Jerusalem*; who being full of the HOLY GHOST looked up stedfastly unto heaven, and saw the heavens opened, and the glory of God, and JESUS the son of man standing at the right hand of God.

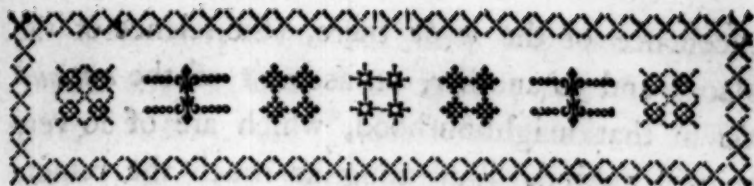
• C
German
spirit of

Book iv. HISTORICAL EXERCISES. III

GOD. *On whom the people ran with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and slew him, calling upon GOD, and saying, LORD JESUS! receive my spirit; and he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, LORD, lay not this sin to their charge *; and, when he had said this, he fell asleep.*

END of Book the FOURTH.

* Compare (in this particular) the dying speech even of Germanicus with this of St. Stephen, and how inferior will the spirit of the former appear?



HISTORICAL EXERCISES:

Being some of the

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

IN THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IT is usual for travellers to divide the time of their residence at *Rome* into two parts; between which, they generally make an excursion for some weeks to *Naples*. This *English* company had the happiness to make the same tour: a tour highly agreeable to one of the young gentlemen, on account of the

VOL. II. H excellence

excellence of the *music* there, (the science of the place) and to another, on account of the *antiquities* in that neighbourhood, which are of so very *poetical* a kind, illustrating as much the remote history of *Greece*, as that of *Italy* itself. *Crito* was highly entertained with the most curious *natural history* of that wonderful soil; as they were all with the various picturesque prospects of that country, to the adorning of which each of the four elements conspires; the balmy serenity of the air, and the brightness of the sun; the calmness of the sea, and the fertility of the shores, islands, promontories, &c. all crowned with the greatest bounty and beauty of nature.

YET often did they turn their thoughts towards *Rome*, and towards the exalted characters of its antient worthies. On the road from thence, as they passed by the *Tres Tabernæ* and *Appii Forum* (and again when at *Puteoli*) *Crito* reminded his young friends of the subject of their last conversation. His pupil, on the other hand, pointed out to him and to his two friends, (who looked with pleasure on his raptures) the ruins of the villa and sepulchre of *Cicero* near *Mola*; and, within a few days after their arrival at *Naples*, brought them at breakfast some branches of lawrel, which he himself had gathered early that morning on *Virgil's* tomb.

WHILE

* This
Jupiter Sa

WHILE they continued in the neighbourhood of *Naples*, they visited, with great pleasure and respect, *Miseno*, the studious residence of *Pliny* junior; and the ruins of the *Cumæan* villa of *Cicero*, the scene of some of his dialogues; the country retirement of the great *Scipio* near *Linternum*; and the fields near *Stabiae*, where *Decius* devoted himself: the beneficent works, both in sea-ports and other edifices, of the public-spirited *Agrippa* at *Averno* and *Bauli*; and that most magnificent temple at *Puteoli* *, erected by *Marcus Aurelius*, to the memory of his good father *Antoninus Pius*, on the very spot (according to some authors) where he died.

BUT above all, mount *Vesuvius* drew their attention: especially as there happened to be a considerable eruption during their stay at *Naples*; a scene which recalled to their memory that great and terrible eruption during the reign of *Titus*, when the whole mountain was shook to pieces, and many cities buried at its feet; and when the whole air of *Italy*, particularly at *Rome*, was filled by it with the most pestilential and destructive vapours. In all which different kinds of public distress, *Titus* so nobly exerted himself, according to his title and office of *father of his people*.

H 2

ON

* This temple is at present generally called the temple of *Jupiter Serapis*.

ON their return to *Rome*, this company made their first visit to those noble edifices, which are still so grand memorials of *Titus's* and of *Vespasian's* reign. For it was the happiness of this son to accomplish what his father had begun; and that much more in relation to the works of peace * than to those of war.

THERE IS not in all *Rome* a more grand set of antiquities than *these*, which stand close together, and in which both of these two emperors had thus so joint and so nobly undivided a share.

FIRST, that most famous triumphal arch still covered with the spoils of *Jerusalem*, that solemn monument of the *divine* punishment on the wickedness of that great city † : for *Titus* was conscious that he was *only the instrument* of that punishment.

Ο δε εκ ης εις εαυτον τρις Μη γαρ αυτος ταυτα επιργασθαι, Θεω δε οργην φηναντι επιδεδωκεναι τας εαυτου χειρας. PHILOST.

NEXT, the vast amphitheatre, the labour in great degree of the captive Jews; which nation (as one of the young gentlemen remarked) was not

* Vid. the medal of *Titus*, representing him holding a branch of olive, and seated on an heap of trophies.

† Vid. the prophecy of this in the gospels. Vid. also Sacred Exercises, book the first, chapter the last.

not only most magnificent in some of its own public buildings while in prosperity; but also during its several captivities very much contributed by its labours to raise some of the greatest buildings in three of the most famous seats of empire in the world, *Egypt*, *Babylon*, and *Rome* *.

NEAR the arch and amphitheatre, are the vast ruins of those *Thermæ* †, which this public-spirited

H 3

emperor

* On the election of a new pope, the head rabbi of the ten thousand Jews settled at *Rome*, meets the new pope in his procession to the *Lateran* between this triumphal arch and this amphitheatre, and beseeches protection for himself and his people; holding in his hands the five books of *Moses*. — No Jew at *Rome* is tormented or burnt by the inquisition, as in *Portugal*.

† *Thermæ* was the name given by the custom of those times to a large collection of buildings intended for very different kinds of uses. For they included not only a vast abundance of baths (so great and general a convenience for health and cleanliness at that time at *Rome*, and to this day at that second *Rome*, *Constantinople*) but even many works, which, in our own climate and time, would (under proper regulations) become great public ornaments and benefits: great basilicas, halls, porticos, theatres, gymnasia, gardens, libraries, schools of philosophy, and even temples were included in their vast extent. All these various edifices being, for the better convenience of the public, thus drawn together in one place. (These were adorned with the richest marble pavements and columns, and with the noblest works of painting and sculpture; and it is very remarkable, that the famous statue of *Laocoon* was found in the ruins of these *Thermæ* of *Titus*.)

Agrippa's Thermæ were, on this account, for the better accommodation of the inhabitants of the different parts of this vast city, situated in the *Campus Martius*; those of *Titus* on the *Esquiline*; those of *Constantine* on the *Quirinal*; and other

very

emperor *Titus*, with the generosity of an *Agrippa*, erected on that large part of the *Esquiline* hill, over which *Nero* had extended his proud palace and gardens.

Hic ubi miramur, velocia munera, Thermas,

Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.

Reddita Roma sibi est; Et sunt te præsides, Cæsar,

Deliciæ populi, quæ fuerant domini.

BUT the most venerable and august of all these edifices, in respect both of its antient astonishing splendor, and of the humane intention with which it was erected, is the temple of *Peace*: the first perhaps that ever was consecrated in *Rome* with that most amiable title,

THE company survey'd this great and lofty ruin from the *Via Sacra*; esteeming it no bad omen that in this their *second* visit to *Rome*, they had begun their course of antiquities under *Crito's* direction, at the same place where they did their *first* *.

Not

very great *Thermæ* on the *Viminal* and *Aventine*: some of these (nor were those of *Titus* the least) were near a mile in circuit.

The famous monument of *Osymanduas*, near *Thebes*, in *Egypt*, was a collection of buildings of nearly the same kind.

* Vid. page 1. vol. i.

NOT content with this common view of it, they went behind the arches; and, passing through the garden of a neighbouring hospital, ascended its large roof. From thence they viewed, not without fresh astonishment, widely spread all around them, the magnificence of antient *Rome*; (in the center of which they were now placed) and particularly the stupendous greatness of the neighbouring amphitheatre and *Thermae*.

AFTER some time they descended again into the garden of the hospital; and sat down on the border of a circular fountain, under the shade of some apricot and orange trees which grow and flourish here, almost without any care or culture. From this fountain is a most venerable though confined prospect, through the three spacious arches of this temple, towards the neighbouring gardens and cypress groves on the opposite *Palatine* hill.

How happy (said one of the young gentlemen) if among these vaulted roofs, we could now hear some airs of that opera of *Titus*, by *Metastasio*, to which we attended with such rapture while at *Naples*? How retired and solemn a spot (said *Crito's* pupil) is this garden? How proper for inspiring a person of genius, with poetic ideas of the sweetest kind? What an ode might some of our lyric poets

(with whom *England* is now so honoured) in this place, before this solemn prospect, and by the murmurs of this fountain, pour forth to the goddesses of this temple?

Καλλις, των κατ' Ολυμπον Παρθενων.

EURIPIDIS *Hippolytus*.

Welcoming her happy (though so late) arrival at *Rome*; and mixing with her praises, those of *Titus*, A goddess, and an hero, how far superior even to *Homer's Minerva*, and her favourite companion, *Diomedes*!

I WISH indeed (said *Crito*) that we had some such composition to peruse here; even if it was composed by some of the young persons of this company. Such a subject indeed, as the character of *Titus*, deserves to be treated in a far more spirited manner, than what I have been able to do in the paper of notes now in my hand: which indeed consists of scarce any thing but plain extracts from history.

BUT if many parts of the life of *Titus* would afford such excellent and happy ideas to a poet of the greatest genius, and (*what is of high consequence in that art*) of the best heart; there are other parts of it, which would furnish very important (though some of them far from agreeable) reflections to a moral philosopher.

SAYING

SAYING this, the countenance of *Crito* became melancholy; he paused, fixed his eyes on the ground, and then with a sigh proceeded as follows.

T I T U S.

THE history of *Titus* presents indeed one of the greatest examples of goodness in the beginning of youth; and still much more so, in that latter part of life, when the faculties of the mind are at the highest, and the man is in the greatest respects in his most perfect state. But also it contains a very *melancholy* example, shewing the extreme importance of taking the utmost care of our conduct, in that perhaps *most dangerous* part of life, to which you, my dear friends, are now approaching. I mean *those* years which form the latter part of youth, and the first part of the state of manhood.

LET us consider *Titus* in these different periods.

How glorious and amiable was the beginning of his life? *In puero statim corporis animique dotes exsplenduerunt. Memoria singularis erat; & docilitate ad omnes artes; ad poeticam præsertim, musicam, rhetoricamque. Adolescens, summâ industriæ nec minore modestiæ famâ, tribunus militum in Britannia meruit.*

meruit. O my dear countrymen, how pleasing is this reflection, that *England* was the theatre of the early virtues of this most amiable young hero; and that many places *in our country* were adorned with statues then erected to his honour !

BUT it is for ever to be lamented, that this so glorious morning of his life grew afterwards very much clouded. For in the following years (with tears must we own it) his history presents a very mixed scene, while virtue and vice struggled for the possession and empire of his heart. His heart was indeed naturally noble and good, and had received great improvements from his early education: yet it now grew corrupted; partly by the example of his father's avarice *, but infinitely more by the luxury and vicious pleasures of this great city; for youthful libertinage will in a short time ruin even the greatest natural goodness of heart, and in a high degree obliterate all knowledge and all genius. In this struggle more frequently indeed his virtues were superior: for he always continued to be a dutiful and loving son, and a most affectionate brother.

IT is in particular highly to his honour, that in the midst of the horrors of that most bloody war,
(when

* What a pity is it, that the great and eminent virtues of *Vespasian* should (like those of *Cato* the Elder) be so disgraced by such a vice ?

(when above 1,400,000 Jews fell victims to their own wickedness, cruelty, and mad enthusiasm) the benevolence of *Titus* frequently shone forth with the greatest lustre. His conduct in *Judea* was indeed generally a most noble example of military fortitude in its true and full dignity; that is, attended and adorned both with modesty and mercy.

FREQUENTLY in the height of victory did he forbear to execute his former threats on the enemy. Frequently did he endeavour to preserve the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* from that destruction which they were so madly pulling on their own heads. His merciful conduct indeed to so obstinate an enemy, as well as his kindness and goodness to his own officers and soldiers, have crowned his memory with the greatest encomiums; encomiums, which surely ought to make very deep impressions on your hearts, seated as you are at present within a pistol-shot of his most elegant and magnificent triumphal arch. — In looking on that *still remaining monument of the wars of Judea*, how many parts of the history of *Josephus*, confirming this high character of *Titus*, present themselves to our recollection?

BUT yet, notwithstanding all these justly merited praises, there were certainly many scenes in that
most

most bloody tragedy, which seem to be strong examples of the truth of that famous observation of marshal *Turenne*, viz. That a military profession is very dangerous to persons desirous of leading a life of goodness*. For the scenes of the inhumanity of war are able to harden the best heart: the benevolence even of a *Titus* often failed in this dreadful work, and sometimes degenerated into savage cruelty; cruelty not confined to *Judea* alone.

BUT let us turn our thoughts from this disagreeable part of the life of *Titus*, and with joy salute the approach of that time, when at last his virtues so surprizingly obtained the compleat possession of his heart; utterly annihilating in it all propensions to luxury, avarice, cruelty, or any other vice; and filling every part of it with the purest, noblest, and most benevolent goodness.

O MY dear young friends, *happy is the young man*, who imitates the conduct of *Titus* in that great time of tryal, when he first became his own master, and the master also of so many other persons! Happy is he, who (like *Titus*) then makes the first day of his coming to the possession of his fortune, the opening scene of *a life of noble*

* For further satisfaction on this head, vide *Reflections on the Life of the emperor Probus*.

noble and prudent beneficence; who then proposes and fixes to himself *the sublime joy of excelling in goodness*, as the exalted object of all his future pursuits; and who with ardour and constancy perseveres in daily pursuing this most wise and glorious plan of life, of *diligently and indefatigably taking all opportunities of doing good to all!* For how mean are all objects and designs of human life in comparison of this, of *gaining the divine mercy and favour, particularly by doing as much good as possible to mankind?*

FROM this happy period, the history of *Titus* becomes quite pure from all reproach; and indeed consists entirely of an uninterrupted series of truly great and good actions. His reign indeed was quite filled with those continued designs and works of beneficence, by which he acquired that most glorious title of *Amor & deliciae generis humani*.

So industrious was he in recovering, if possible, the time formerly most unhappily mispent, that it is universally known in what manner he with a sigh expressed his regret, in having suffered one day to pass, without having marked it with some good action. *Amici, inquit, diem perdidi*. A sentiment, most deservedly for ever consecrated in the annals of mankind, as infinitely more worthy of eternal memory

memory and praise, than all the histories of the most victorious kings, consuls, and emperors of this famous city.

ON his first accession to the throne, he instantly discovered to the world his amiable temper: he immediately published a proclamation, by which he confirmed all the gracious acts of his father; without obliging any persons (as had been before the custom) to solicit his particular grant and permission to hold the favours, which they had received from his predecessor, *Vespasian*.

ON taking possession of the office of *High-Priest*, he declared that he received this sacred dignity, as an engagement obliging him to observe the greatest, most continued mercy to all; and to be much rather willing to perish himself, than to consent to destroy one other person*. — He indeed constantly pardoned all who had conspired against his life, with joy taking this opportunity of imitating his father's good actions†. He forgave his brother, who was wretched enough to be capable of forming the same vile designs: he endeavoured to melt his hard heart by the most continued goodness, and

* *Peritulum potiùs, quàm perditulum.*

† *Vespasiani, patris sui, inter cætera bona, illud singulare fuit, inimicitias oblivisci: adeo ut Vitellii hostis sui filiam locupletissimam potaverat, & viro splendidissimo in matrimonium dederat.*

A. VICT. Epist. c. 17.

and favour to him. Conjuring him with tears, in his private discourse, to be sensible at length of the kindness of his heart towards him, and to return fraternal friendship for such sincere love and affection.

THE only persons, whom *Titus* treated with severity, was that race of false accusers, with which *Rome* in those ages, was so unhappily filled. With true magnanimity he refused to listen to any information against any libellers, &c. For it is impossible (said he) that I should be really hurt by them, as long as I continue to do nothing to deserve it.

As to friendship, it is in a particular manner greatly to his honour (considering his exalted station) that he really deserved to meet with good friends, by feeling himself the value of friendship, and being attentive to fill all its duties.—It is remarkable, that his set of friends were so well chosen, that whoever had obtained his favour and esteem, found a like confidence reposed in them by the virtuous princes his successors.—It is also remarkable, that he always most affectionately honoured the memory of *the friend of his childhood, his school-fellow, young Britannicus*. Such a circumstance is surely not a trifle in the highest characters; highly agreeable, I am sure, it must be

be to this present company, who all can so happily date your mutual love and friendship from the same early part of your lives.

BUT there are three great actions in the history of his reign, which it would be the greatest injustice not to repeat. His benevolence had three great occasions, on which it was able to exert and display itself in its full glory.

1. FOR in his reign happened that dreadful eruption of mount *Vesuvius*, the descriptions of which you read with such attention at *Naples*, while the image of that horrid scene was in some degree really presented to your view. How then did you reverence the memory of *Titus*, who (with the same benevolent spirit as influenced the sovereign and senate of *Great Britain* in the late destruction of *Lisbon*) immediately appointed persons of the highest rank, to consider of ways and means for the relief of the inhabitants of that region of desolation? In order to hasten and perfect such relief, *Titus* himself visited that spot of danger, and assigned abundant funds for restoring the ruins of that unhappy country.

2. THE eruption was followed by a pestilence, of such extreme malignity, as in this city to sweep away ten thousand persons in a day. *Titus*,
according

according to his usual goodness, spared neither pains nor cost to give all possible relief: staying himself in the midst of the infection, (as *General Monk* did in the plague of *London*; and as was done still more nobly by that famous bishop of *Marseilles*, in whom *Borromeo* * revived) himself visiting the sick and dying; and in every article, *non modo principis sollicitudinem, sed etiam parentis affectum unicum præstans.*

3. THIS dreadful pestilence (like that of *London*) was soon followed by almost a general conflagration of this whole city. — How then did *Titus* behave? With the most astonishing greatness of mind he declared himself the only loser: he took on himself the whole enormous loss. His wise and exact œconomy of the immense revenues of the *Roman* empire, enabled him to perform that vast work of charity. With the greatest abundance he poured forth all the imperial treasures for the relief of the poor sufferers; and with the greatest joy consecrated all the ornaments of his own, whether city or country, palaces, for the reparation of the edifices of public utility, particularly the temples.

SUCH (among many other good actions) were the works of the emperor *Titus* †: such was the

VOL. II.

I

height

* Vid. the Appendix to this Volume.

† If the history of such works of beneficence is in itself amazing,

height of goodness, to which he so surprizingly exalted his character, after having very narrowly escaped sinking into the *abyss* of wickedness and vice. May you, my friends, nobly imitate these his most bright, most amiable virtues! May you surpass his character, at least in one great article, by continuing to make your lives from your youth up, *virtuous and noble in all their parts, without one spot, without one blemish!*

THUS was this day's lecture concluded; but, as the company were returning home from the *Temple of Peace*, they were stopped for some time at the gate of the *neighbouring* antient building, which is now called the church of *St. Adrian*.

THE sound of some solemn music then performing there, (being a celebrated composition of harmony, adapted to some of the *penitential* psalms) irresistibly

amazing, how astonishing is the consideration, that they were all really executed and compleated within the *short* space of a reign of *two* years only?

But let us remember, that the history of the most glorious, the most virtuous, the most beneficent character, which ennobles the annals of the whole earth, extends no further than the space of *three* years only.

It is hoped, that we shall be pardoned, if, on this occasion, we refer the *young* reader to the collect of the second lesson of the first part of the fourth book of the Sacred Exercises.

irresistibly drew them into the porch. Nor was it before the conclusion of that most affecting service, that they could retire from it.

AFTERWARDS, during the remainder of their walk home, the company gave their earnest attention to the following reflections of *Crito*.

SOME weeks ago, said he, (on that morning, when you, my dear young friends, went to see the annual ceremony * of portioning the three hundred maidens at the church of *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*) I walked out alone to this church of *St. Adrian*; which (as you know) was antiently the temple of *Saturn*, or of *Time*.

I SAT down in one of the side chapels, which was then entirely solitary; and finding fortunately in my pocket the noble dialogue of *Cebes*, (the scene of which is described to have been in a temple of the *same* name) I perused several parts of it with great pleasure in that place; especially as the sacred sentiments contained in that book, seemed to me not to be *totally* unworthy of the breast of any Christian, even while meditating in the holiest part of *any* Christian church.

I 2

IN

* At this ceremony, the maidens who are to receive their portions come in procession, all dressed in long and flowing white robes, such as are seen in several antique statues of *Roman* matrons. Their faces in particular are covered exactly in the same manner as some of the most famous busts.

IN my return to your lodgings, (where you had appointed some young painters to meet you at that hour) I could not help considering, whether or no some modern *allegorical* painter might not be able to extract from this *Tabula Cebetis* several scenes, which might be proper subjects for the employment of his pencil: subjects, worthy indeed even of *Rubens*, or of some other master of some nobler school.

Two scenes in particular of this kind then struck and filled my imagination.

1. THE first, a picture so designed, as to represent, on one hand, the true Παιδεία, attended by her two sisters, Αληθεια and Πειθω; and on the other, *Wisdom*, accompanied by all the virtues; and, in the midst, *Celestial Happiness*, the mother of them all, καθήμενη ἐπὶ θρόνῳ ὑψηλῷ, κεκοσμημένην ἐλευθερώς, καὶ σεφανωμένην σεφανῶ εὐανθεὶ πανυ καλῶς*.

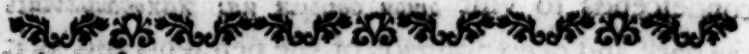
2. To this splendid picture, another might be added; perhaps not an improper companion. I mean the representation of the heaven-born Μετανοία; while,

* Όταν νῦν ᾤδε τις παραγίνεται, τί ποιεῖ; — Στεφανοὶ αὐτῶν τῇ αὐτῆς δύναμει ἡ Ἑβραϊσμοία, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πάσαι Ἀρεταί, ὡς τοὺς νενίκηκότα τῆς μεγίστης ἀγωνίας.

Book v. HISTORICAL EXERCISES. *130

while, with all-gracious, all-merciful charity, she condescends to visit οίκον οδυρμῶς καὶ κακοδαιμονίας, the dark and deep dungeon of the penitent, and as it were their infernal prison and *limbus*. Εξαίρει αὐτὰς ἡ Μετανοία ἐκ τῶν κακῶν, καὶ συνίστησιν αὐτοῖς ἑτέραν δοξάν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν, τὴν εἰς Ἀληθεϊνὴν Παιδείαν αὔξαν. Καθαρθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς, σωζονται, καὶ μακαριοὶ, καὶ εὐδαιμονοῦντες γίγνονται ἐν παντί τῷ βίῳ.

Two such *instructive* paintings might not perhaps be improper ornaments for the picture-gallery of any university: especially if the beautiful bust of *Germanicus* was placed under the first of these paintings; and that of *Titus* (tho' it would grieve a generous heart to place him there) under the second:



CHAP. II.

TWENTY-NINTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

CRITO, this morning, informed the company, that the character, which he next proposed to offer to their consideration, was one of the most amiable in the *Roman* history, that of *Pliny* junior; that he had drawn up this character on two papers, one for this morning, the other for the following day: but that, as no monuments of *Pliny* himself could be expected to be found, he would propose to them to take this opportunity of visiting the principal monuments of those two emperors, under whom *Pliny* flourished; those of *Nerva* to-day, those of *Trajan* to-morrow.

CLOSE behind the temple of *Peace* are still to be seen several noble remains of the *Forum Palladium vel Nervæ* *. The area of it is indeed filled with some streets of modern houses; but around it are several antique edifices, which give the *biggest* idea of the magnificence of the several *Forums* in Rome.

* *Limina post Pacis, Palladiumque Forum.* MARTIAL.

Rome *. For on the south-side of this oblong area, is still in great measure remaining the front of the temple of *Pallas*; all of *Parian* marble, and of the noblest *Grecian* sculpture. Over the entrance, the statue of the goddess still preserves her antient station: and the rich frieze of the whole front is most elegantly adorned with the several pacific arts of her invention, particularly that great and happy one of the woollen manufacture; which, with all the other arts of *Minerva*, so much flourishes at present in *Great Britain*.

TOWARDS the east appear the long, lofty, and massy walls of the precinct of the same *Forum*: and towards the north, (nearly opposite to the temple of *Pallas*) stands part of a most stately portico, supported by several rich columns of the *Corinthian* order, of *Parian* marble, and fifty-four feet in height: being part of the *Curia* which *Trajan* generously erected to the memory of his patron and adoptive father, *Nerva*: for *Trajan's* respect and gratitude to *Nerva* was almost as remarkable,

I 4

as

* Besides the great and so well known *Forum*, there were adjoining to it several other smaller *Forums*, added by several emperors: on one side, *Forum Boarium*; on the other, *Forum Julii Caesaris*, *Forum Augusti*, *Forum Palladium*, and *Forum Trajani*: so that at least one whole side of the *Capitoline* hill had at its feet an uninterrupted chain of these *Forums*.—The *Campus Martius* was adorned with several others, particularly those of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*.

as *Nerva's* love to the public was in chusing such a successor.

* * *

UNDER the shade of this lofty portico, the company stood for some time conversing on the reign and character of this *mild* and *merciful* sovereign; so loving and beloved by his people; whose grey hairs were in this respect almost as venerable as those of *Numa*, and whose government seemed to be formed on the same beneficent plan with that of *Titus*. For, far from continuing the cruel spirit of his predecessor, *Domitian*; (under whom, particularly during the latter years of his tyranny, these streets so frequently streamed with the most illustrious *Roman* blood; all merit, whether military, judicial, or senatorial, was hated and suppressed; almost every laudable science was discouraged, all the philosophers banished and expelled from this metropolis, and the Christian religion most savagely persecuted * in all parts of the empire) *Nerva's* reign was as refreshing to the world, as an evening shower after a burning day in these hot climates.

* It is remarkable, that as *Thraseas* and *St. Paul* suffered about the same time under the tyranny of *Nero*; so also, under that of *Domitian*, were *Epietetus* and (that infinitely greater person) *St. John* persecuted and banished about the same time.

So false is the notion, that the bad emperors were in general protectors of Christianity.

climates. He was the patron and protector of the senate; he abolished the odious laws of *Lexa Majestas*; he suppressed the persecution against the Christians; and in general, to use the words of *Tacitus*, *primo statim beatissimi sæculi ortu, Nerva Cesar res olim dissociabiles miscuit principatum & libertatem*. A character, which is the chief jewel even in the most splendid crown of *Great Britain*.

HUMILITY and modesty accompanied him even in the highest station: he was full of frugality in his own expences, and of self-denial in the use of his own property. But generous to all the poor citizens of his metropolis, for whom he was continually providing; and liberal to the other cities of the empire; particularly to those which had been afflicted by any public misfortunes. The extent of his charitable spirit may be judged from one instance, that of his providing for the maintenance and education of the children of the poor throughout all *Italy*.

NERVA being (like many illustrious persons of *Great Britain*) a descendant of a family ennobled by the law, it is no wonder that he should be earnest for the support of *justice and the laws*; but *mercy* was his favourite virtue: that abundant mercy, which tho' some men may esteem it excessive, dangerous, and

and even an argument of weakness of mind; yet surely most nearly resembles the mercy and long-suffering of heaven. It certainly has crowned the memory of *Nerva*, as well as of *Titus*, with the most noble elogium, that ever can be bestowed on the spirit of any human government. *Gratissima ac beatissima semper fuit mitissimo seni servandorum hominum potestas.*

IN this manner were the young gentlemen proceeding in their conversation, when they were checked by *Crito*; who *most unwillingly* reminded them, that however *true* and *just* these noble elogiums were on the *latter* part of the life of *Nerva*, yet there were other times of his life very contrary. Much indeed is it to be wished, that the historians in reverence to so good an old age had suffered the early part of his life to have been buried in utter and eternal oblivion; thus shewing to his memory that mercy, which he in such innumerable works of charity had shewed to others.

That mercy be to others shew'd,

That mercy shew to him.

LET us therefore (continued *Crito*, turning his steps from this portico of *Nerva* towards the neighbouring temple of *Time*) be silent on this head. — If in the wretched history of *Rome*, we
are

are desirous to find any truly and totally worthy character in the interval between *Titus* and *Pliny*, let us not think of *Nerva*, but of the great and good AGRICOLA.

* * *

FOR the natural happy disposition of AGRICOLA's mind to all moral and other inferior accomplishments was, from his earliest youth, greatly promoted by the care of a truly affectionate parent; who sent him to an university, at that time famous on both those accounts, and particularly secure from the contagion of the bad examples of this then so wretched capital.

THE happy consequences of this education appeared afterwards; not only in the goodness of his *private* life, (particularly in his early conjugal union with his most amiable *Decidiana*; *vixerunt mirâ concordia per mutuam caritatem*) but also in every part of his *civil* and *military* character.

WHILE *Quæstor* of *Asia*, he shewed the integrity of a *Rutilius* in that province: while *Præfekt* of *Aquætania*, he still continued to practice the same uncorrupted virtue; joining to it, great wisdom and great industry in the dispatch of all the provincial business. In his conduct, no marks ever appeared

peared either of injustice or avarice, of humour or of pride. Merciful he was to his people; yet respected by them: severe, when necessary; yet universally beloved.

As to his *military* life, *Britain* was the *theatre* of all its splendor: and you, my dear and *noble* friends, will, I am sure, join your hearty wishes, that the noble military youth of the same country may always *duly* study all the *several scenes* of it: imitating that ardent, yet wise, valour; that deference and obedience to superior officers; that most diligent application to the study of the science of his profession, which *Agricola* shewed, while in his youth aid-de-camp to general *Suetonius Paulinus*: imitating also that prudence and active merit, which he afterwards shewed, when promoted to the command of a legion: imitating, above all, that generosity, affability and goodness to both officers and soldiers; that industry, fortitude, conduct, and in all respects great military character, which *Agricola* so gloriously displayed during the eight years campaigns, while he was commander in chief of all the forces in *Great Britain*.

BUT let me add, that all these his *domestic*, *civil*, and *military* virtues, were rendered still infinitely more respectable and amiable by that sincere humility of heart, and consequential sweet exterior modesty,

modesty, which accompanied and adorned them all.—For, as to his domestic happiness, he never attributed it to any goodness of his own, but totally to the great virtues of his *Decidiana*.—As to the honours, acquired in his civil employments, they were the natural, but entirely *unsought* and *undesired* consequences of his merit.—His military glory also was attended, from his earliest youth, with great diffidence and humility: and consequently drew not after it any envy or malice of his youthful rivals. When general in chief, he continued always most willing to promote the glory of others; and yet as to himself and his own heroisms (even when he was crowned with the greatest victories) he continued always as modest as *Agrippa*, or *Turenne*.

By the same *most blessed* spirit of humility (*that surest source of felicity of heart*) he was enabled to bear with patience, and even with happiness, all the mean ingratitude, miserable injustice, fearful haughtiness, and insulting scorn and envy, with which he was received on his return to the *Roman* court after all his glorious achievements in *Britain*. The sweet modesty of *Agricola* was capable indeed, in some degree, to assuage and soften even the hard and rancorous heart of that worst of tyrants, *Domitian*, towards him.

THE same true humility (a far different and far superior principle in all respects to any *politic timid and selfish caution*) accompanied and blessed all his future retired life; and at last comforted him even on his death-bed, and encircled him in his last moments with her attendant virtues, benevolence and tranquility, peace, resignation, and joy.

Placide quiescat (let us add our wishes to those of his dutiful, loving, and beloved son, *Tacitus*) in *piorum Manium loco*! and may you, my dear young friends, (who were lately expressing your concern, that the marble busts of the excellent *Agricola* are so scarce, even here at *Rome*) remember the concluding words of the same historian: *Simulacra vultus hominum imbecilla ac mortalia sunt: forma mentis aeterna; quam tenere & exprimere, non per alienam materiam & artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet, mansurumque est in animis hominum, &c.*

Requiescat in pace! replied *Crito's* pupil. Such goodness of character certainly entitles him to that charitable wish, even from us, the descendants of his generous enemies. Yet permit me, my dear *Crito*, to remind you, that when I had the melancholy

lancholy pleasure of reading *Tacitus's* life of *Agricola* to you, you certainly were differently affected by the different parts of it. How was your good heart shocked with the recital of the conquest of our country, even to its utmost limits? *Animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit*. How did you pity our brave, slaughtered, or enslaved, ancestors? How frequently did we both forget that the *Roman* general was the hero of the history? and how did we turn all our love, respect, and ardent wishes to the side of *Galgacus*? in a much more strong manner, than (while reading the *Iliad* at *Westminster*) they were ever exerted on the side of *Hector*,

Supremum patriæ levamen

Mox ruituræ.

If such are (as I believe) the sentiments of all *Englishmen*, while reading the military history of *Agricola*; how much more deeply must these our two young friends and dear companions be affected by it? They, whose antient family-mansions are situated in those counties, which were the last retreats of the unhappy persecuted *Britons*: one, near the shores of *Mona*, (twice conquered by *Agricola*) and the other, near the *Grampian* mountains of *Caledonia*; on the very spot, which

was

was also honoured in after times by the habitation of the unfortunate *Wallace*, that modern patriotic hero, not in the least inferior either to *Galgacus*, or *Caractacus*?

YET let us, with happy resignation, submit to the orders of Providence! On duly considering all things, we shall certainly find the *Roman* conquest of *Britain* to have been in its consequences, in many respects, a most happy event to us. And on this consideration, (a consideration, I remember, suggested to me several years past by *Crito*) ought we not, my dear young friends, to endeavour to suppress those sighs, which have rose from our hearts, whenever, since our arrival at *Rome*, we have viewed the antique triumphal inscription, (*de Barbaris Britannorum gentibus & Regibus*) which is still remaining on the walls of the *Barberini terras*?

* * *

BUT let us think of the business of the day; the perusal of one of *Crito's* papers on the character of *Pliny*. But where to read it? This is by far too public a place. Where better, than in the adjoining, and never too often visited,

great

great *Forum*; and, under the shade of those very *Rostra*, which were so honoured by *Pliny* himself, as well as by his friend *Tacitus*, and instructor *Quintilian*?

ACCORDINGLY the company walked across the *Forum*; and retiring to a solitary part of it, sat down on the fragments of some marble columns, lying between the *Rostra* and the temple of *Concord*.

PLINY, JUNIOR,

From ROLLIN, &c.

PART I.

HAPPY that young man, who is connected with those who are in any degree the true honour of their age and country! But how far more happy is he, whose friends are illustrious, not only for their *abilities*, but for their *virtues* also? How glorious in each of these qualifications were the friends, with whom *Pliny* was surrounded from his infancy? How glorious would the assembly of them appear, if all drawn together in one conversation-picture* by the pencil of a *Raphael*, the great author of the ecclesiastic council, and of the

I 4

schools

* These are perhaps the two noblest conversation-pieces extant in the universe.

schools of *Athens* in the *Vatican* palace? How worthy to appear among them, on the other hand, did *Pliny* render himself? and what additional splendor did his character reflect on theirs?

INFINITELY happy was his first connection in life; that with his guardian *Virginus Rufus*: that most truly great hero; who, though one of the principal deliverers of the world from the tyranny of *Nero*, yet refused to succeed him in the throne. Several times was he proclaimed emperor, but constantly did he refuse to accept of it; he was satisfied with his patriotism; he retired to a literary life. His modesty and humility there continued equal to his other virtues; consequently he was universally revered. Full of honours and days he arrived in tranquility to the eighty-fourth year of his age, and ended his life when one of the best of princes, the father of mankind, *Nerva*, was on the throne: nor had *Rome* for many years beheld a more solemn and magnificent spectacle than what was exhibited at his public funeral, by the command of that excellent emperor: the historian *Tacitus* (then consul) speaking, probably on these *Rostra*, his funeral oration.

*Hic situs est Rufus; pulso qui Vindice quondam
Imperium asseruit, non sibi, sed patriæ,*

THE paternal affection with which this great and good man took care of *Pliny*, was returned with the greatest filial love. With what affection, gratitude, and reverence does *Pliny* honour his memory in several of his epistles? Indeed it is very probable, that so noble an example, so constantly placed before his view during his early years, was the real foundation of all the future nobleness and goodness of his own heart.

HIS next connection was not less remarkable: that with his uncle, *Pliny* the elder. This most famous man had acquired all his glory by the most efficacious and certain method; that is, by the most indefatigable, most constant industry. Young *Pliny*, who studied all his actions, diligently imitated this most remarkable part of his character; and consequently, like him, became one of the principal glories of his age and country, though in a different kind of study. He surpassed indeed his uncle in one of the most important articles; by adding to his great literary labours and accomplishments that, without which they are all vain, — *hic pietate prior*. *Pliny the Elder.*

HIS third happy connection was that with his instructor, the celebrated *Quintilian*. For *Quintilian* was very remarkable, not only for his great abilities in the instruction of youth, by which he did *Quintilian.*

did such great and extensive good to the public, (willingly on this account persevering to labour for above twenty years in his school, and afterwards to diligently employ the remainder of his life in those his so famous writings on that same important subject) but he was also still much more remarkable for the most amiable sweetness of his own temper, and real worthiness of his own character. Qualifications, most highly and absolutely necessary for such a station. Indeed he was in general one of the most wise, benevolent, and virtuous men, who ever guided their own or other persons lives by the imperfect rules of Pagan philosophy. Among his numerous and illustrious scholars, (who all regarded him with the truest filial love and reverence) *Pliny* was the youth who brought him constantly the greatest pleasure and honour, by the elegance and solidity of his compositions, by the fruitfulness of his genius, and the indefatigable industry of his studies, and far above all these merits, by the similar goodness, and wonderful benevolence of his heart. How mutually happy and honourable to each other, are such masters and such scholars?

It is also very highly to the honour of *Pliny*, that nobly liberal as he always was in the general encouragement of all persons of real learning, he was so in a most particular manner to this his
ever

ever honoured old master. During his whole life, he continued to shew, on all occasions, the kindest warmest gratitude for all the obligations which in his tender years he had received from him; gratitude, marked out by many real acts of love and friendship, and by many real benefits conferred.

To these glorious connections let us add those other still more noble and exalted characters, those pillars of public virtue and liberty, which so remarkably adorned the family of *Pliny*, and the circle of his friendships, *Thraseas*; and afterwards *Arria Minor*; the two *Helvidii Prisci*; *Fannia*; *Rusticus Arulenus*; and *Senecio*. Growing up under their instructions, continually inflamed by their so great examples, (each in different virtues) no wonder that by a correspondent virtuous ardour in his own breast, he rendered himself *worthy* of such friends. His gratitude in particular and affection to them was inviolable, as all his actions, and all his writings bear witness: in the worst of times he paid the greatest veneration to their merits; nor ever, in their heaviest dangers and distresses, deserted any of them or of their families; though himself, on that very account, devoted to destruction, and (to use his own words) scorched with the lightening of the tyrant, *Domitian*, which flashed all around him.

Thraseas.
Arria
Minor.
Helvidii
Prisci.
Fannia.
Rusticus
Arulenus.
Senecio.

IN

IN his youth he made acquaintance with the philosopher *Artemidorus*; and entered into the strictest intimacy with him. How warmly does he in his epistles speak of the sincerity and integrity, the benevolence, generosity, and gratitude which he had observed in that truly wise and worthy man's character? And how did he himself imitate them? When *Artemidorus*, with all the other learned men of *Italy*, were banished from their country by the tyranny of *Domitian*; *Pliny* kindly visited him in his distress, though at the great hazard of his own life; and made him a present of a considerable sum to discharge some debts which he had contracted upon very glorious occasions; though at that very time *Pliny* was himself obliged to borrow the money for this purpose, and though *Artemidorus's* other friends, who both in power and fortune were capable of assisting him, stood coldly at a distance, without contributing any relief to his distress,

How benevolent indeed was *Pliny* to all his contemporary literati? How charitable to *Martial*?
Martial. How candid to *Silius Italicus**? But to those learned
Silius Italicus. men,

* *Silius Italicus* was very remarkable for having reformed his character, and by a most approved behaviour having, like *Titus*, cleared it from former vices. He was also remarkable for having, by his diligence, highly improved his genius, (which at first seemed very moderate) and thus rising in literary reputation

men, with whom he was connected *as a friend*, how amiable was his behaviour, and how exemplary? Never indeed is the *Pierian* music so sweet, as when the instruments of the several goddesses, all accord together in perfect harmony. Virtue in general is the highest ornament to literature; and of all virtues, none perhaps does more honour to learned men, than such mutual benevolence. This was the lovely character of *Optimus Virgilius** in the *Augustan* age: nor was *Pliny's* inferior to it. How kindly do we find him employing himself for his friend *Suetonius*; sometimes in providing *Suetonius*. for him a pleasing retirement, in which he might agreeably prosecute his studies; sometimes by his interest at court, procuring him other conveniencies and honours of life. To *Tacitus*, how undissembled *Tacitus*. was his love? How earnest his regard for his glory as for his own? How superior were they both to all the meanness of rivalry †? Chearful and familiar,

tation far above persons of much greater, but neglected, talents. Most remarkable was he for his most zealous and industrious study and imitation of *Cicero* in oratory, *Virgil* in poetry, *Mores majorum, qui (ut Plinii verbis utar) stultissimum judicabant ad imitandum sibi non optima quæque proponere.* Vid. *Martialis* Epigramma in eundem.

* ——— *Animæ, quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter.*

HORACE.

† Query, If the amiable part of *Tacitus's* history (that of *Titus, Nerva, &c.*) was remaining, whether we should not probably

familiar, and most highly friendly was their correspondence. How pleasing is it, in perusing their epistles, to observe *Pliny* consulting this his noble friend on the best method of making his beneficence (either to his friends or to his country) more efficacious; to observe them both mutually consulting and correcting, encouraging and assisting each other in their several great works and studies.

“ How agreeable, (says he himself) how noble
 “ is such a correspondence*? and how am I pleased
 “ with the thought that posterity (if it shall at all
 “ concern itself with us) will not cease to mention
 “ with what harmony, freedom, and fidelity we
 “ lived together. Both nearly of the same age
 “ and rank, both mutually assisting and promoting
 “ each other’s studies. When I was a young man,
 “ and you (a little more advanced in age) in the
 “ prime of your reputation, I endeavoured to
 “ follow your steps, and was desirous to be con-
 “ sidered as next in character to you. *Proximus*
 “ *huic, longo sed proximus intervallo*. You were
 “ my most worthy model, and at the same time
 “ seemed

probably find that historian’s thoughts and reflections full as amiable as those of *Pliny* himself.

* Lib. vii. ep. 20. ad Tacitum.

“ seemed to me from the similitude in our dispo-
 “ sitions, to be the most easy for my imitation.
 “ It is particularly agreeable to me, that in all
 “ companies, where learning is the topic of con-
 “ versation, we are always mentioned together,
 “ my name immediately following yours. Our
 “ living and dying friends always remember us
 “ together. Since therefore we are thus closely
 “ linked together by such a similitude of studies,
 “ manners, and reputation; should it not mutually
 “ tend still more to inflame us with the most ardent
 “ affection for each other?”

THOSE persons, under whose kind examination
 and correction these papers may come, are humbly
 desired to recollect whether or no there are in
 history any traces to be found of any connection
 between *Pliny* and *Plutarch*: a circumstance very *Plutarch*.
 probable from the literary eminence of both these
 contemporary great men, from their frequent
 journeys into each other's countries, and their
 mutual connections with the greatest and wisest
 men in each; and still much more probable from
 those great similar excellencies of temper, that
 overflowing benignity of heart, which breaks out
 on all occasions in the writings of each. For the
 hours which were not occupied in studious industry,
 were by both of them alike employed in a continual
 course

course of beneficence and love to their country, to their relations, to their friends, to their dependants, to their servants *; merciful were they even to their beasts; for the true benevolence of a great mind extends itself through the whole compass of existence, and sympathizes with the distress of every creature capable of sensation. But most similar were they to each other in the grateful regard which they both always bore to the little towns of their birth: *Plutarch* to *Chieronea*, *Pliny* to *Como*. (Which town and its lake, and its particular shore, still called *Pliniana*, you visited with such pleasure in your journey through the *Milaneſe*.) Each of these great and learned men, whose fame was spread to the utmost extent of the whole *Roman* empire, took a particular pleasure in contriving something that might be of real benefit to the inhabitants of those places of their infancy †.

How

* What anxious concern does *Pliny* express on the sickness of his domestics? and how amiable (among the collection of his letters to his *great* and *imperial* correspondents) does that letter to his steward appear, in which he takes such generous care of the old age of that servant who had nursed his infancy?

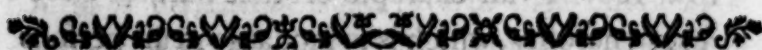
† It is said, that at *Como* an academy instituted by *Pliny* is even to this day still in being, and still employed to the same design. If so, it is probably the most antient university in the world.—*Charlemagne*, if I am not mistaken, established another seminary of learning on the same spot.

How moving an example of that natural affection and generosity, which is so laudable in all persons of rank towards the little towns of their birth or residence? (for never is a great or learned man more laudably employed than in doing good to his poor country neighbours) and also of that charity, that most amiable, most beautiful *Charity*, which is the child of *Benevolence* and *Humility*, and derives above half its charms from the last of these virtues, its true mother.

VOL. II.

K

CHAP.



C H A P. III.

THIRTIETH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ADJOINING to the *Forum of Nerva*, stood antiently the most magnificent square of *Trajan*. At its four angles were four grand triumphal arches. The four sides were lofty porticos *; in the middle of one of which was a consular basilica, or court of justice; and opposite to it, on the other side of the square, a temple in which was preserved the famous *Ulpian* library. All these edifices were adorned with the most superb ornaments both in marble and bronze: the whole area too was richly paved with marble, and in the midst of it arose that stately column †, which is the only part now remaining of all this most sumptuous scene of magnificence.

THE

* Some fragments of the marble columns, upwards of five feet in diameter, were some years ago found deep under the foundations of the modern houses here. For in effect, the magnificence of *Rome* is almost as much buried under ground, as that of *Herculaneum* itself.

† It is in height one hundred and twenty-eight feet, and wholly composed (including even the pedestal and stairs within) of no more than thirty-four immense blocks of white marble piled on one another. Vid. *Abate Venuti's* excellent Account of the *Roman Antiquities*.

* The f
ing, being
tures; and
that form t

THE company early in the morning stood for a long time admiring this most famous pillar, and doubting whether or no it was not far preferable to any even of the *Egyptian* obelisks; and whether even *Sesostris* (whose works and character so nearly resemble those of *Trajan*; and in whose time the dominion of *Egypt* was at its greatest extent, as the *Roman* empire was during the reign of this emperor) ever, erected on the banks of the *Nile*, *Ganges*, or *Danube*, such a column. They looked down with admiration on its vast pedestal, so richly adorned with sculptured trophies; and up its shaft, so entirely covered from top to bottom with the finest bas reliefs *, though on the north and eastern side greatly injured by time. Sometimes they cast a melancholy look around them, enquiring in vain for the places where once stood the several triumphal arches, porticos, &c. All now vanished like the *baseless fabric of a vision*, which leaves not the least track or vestige behind it.

BUT the edifice, the loss of which was by *Crito* the most regretted, was the *Ulpian* library; which, of all the numerous libraries founded by *Trajan*

K 2

in

* The same solid block of marble goes through the building, being adorned on the outside with these most noble sculptures; and on the inside of the pillar being hewn into steps that form the stairs.

in different parts of his empire, was probably by far the principal. How pleasing an employment, added he, must it have been to *Pliny*, (who so celebrates his friend and sovereign's patronage of science, and who himself was so fond of erecting a seat of learning in his own little town of *Como*) to have collected and regulated for *Trajan* this his imperial *Roman* library? A library, equal perhaps to the modern *Vatican*. How pleasing too is the thought, that he frequently might perhaps have met here his illustrious contemporary, *Plutarch*; (as *Cicero* describes himself meeting *Cato* in the library of *Lucullus*) and have assisted him in comparing the *Roman* with the *Grecian* part of this vast collection of literature *? How happy an employment too, for two such generous hearts as those of *Pliny* and *Plutarch*, the adorning it (as it was at the emperor's expence) with the statues of all the learned men of both countries, as well those of the present, as those of antient times?

BUT where shall we pass the hot hours of this morning? Shall we go to any of the shady gardens on the *Janiculan* hill, near the fountains of *Trajan's* aqueduct? Or shall we rather take boat, and pass this day on the *Tiber*? In three hours we may fall down the stream from hence to the sea, and there

visit

* The *Ulpian* was divided into two libraries, one for *Greek* books, the other for *Latin*.

visit the remains of the famous *Portus Trajanus*, or (if you rather chuse it) the place and ruins of the celebrated *Villa Laurentina* of *Pliny*, near *Ostium*. If our time in the boat seems long, how agreeably may we employ it in reading some part either of *Pliny's* panegyric, or of his epistles, both of which I have in my pocket.

THIS proposal was scarce sooner mentioned, than approved: the young gentlemen immediately ordered their coach to drive to the *Aventine* hill; at the foot of which, near a place still called *Spelunca di Caco*, they took boat.

As *Crito* had brought *Pliny's* works with him, so his pupil had not forgot those of *Virgil*. Scarce was he seated in the bark, but he began reading to his young friends those lines in the eighth *Æneid*, which describe *Æneas's* voyage up the *Tiber*, and his landing at that very spot which they now saw before them. As they swiftly fell down the stream, he turned to some other verses in the beginning of the seventh *Æneid*; but was much disappointed to find the appearance of the country near the *Tiber* so totally changed from what *Virgil* describes it in both these books. Not the least remains left of that beautiful forest, which so pleasantly crowned its banks, and shaded its streams:

——— *Varia circumque supræque*
Affuctæ ripis volucres, & fluminis abveo,
Æthera mulcebant cantu, lucoque volabant,

ALL this delightfully romantic (and as it were *American*) scene, is now vanished. Yet still the banks, though bare of trees, have their beauty, as well as the stream itself; though it is much discoloured with the richness of the soil; and in all respects far inferior to the *Thames*, either near the stately bridge of *Westminster*, or among the pleasant islands of the royal college of *Eaton*. As they drew near the sea, the stream began to widen; but no appearance of any ships sailing on it, or of any lying at anchor. The time will come, (but may many, many centuries first elapse!) when the river from *London* bridge to *Gravesend* shall be as much deserted.

ABOUT noon they observed the *Tiber* divide itself before them into two branches; the island between them being the famous *Ifola Sacra*. Bore by the swiftness of the current, they soon arrived there. They steered down the channel to the north, and a little further landed on the right hand shore. Here, tying their boat to some ozers, which were over-run with vine-leaves and grapes, they followed a narrow path across some broad meadows, which brought them to the remains

mains of the famous *Portus Trajanus*. It is now only a large pool of water in the midst of some low lands: the winds and waves having choked up with sand its communication with the sea: yet not so totally obliterated it, as they have done either to the great harbour of *Ravenna*, or that of *Rutupia* on the coast of *Kent*; both of which are now entirely changed into a large and smooth extent of green meadows: *Venice* also will become the same.

NEAR the banks of this pool are still some few marble pillars, to which antiently the ships cables were fastened; as well as some stones with antique inscriptions, (one particularly to *Marcus Aurelius*) scattered here and there among the bushes. The most considerable monument of antiquity is that in the middle of the mead; being the temple of *Portumnus*. To this ruin the company now bent their steps, and under the shade of its walls, sat down to their dinner on the grass; as *Ascanius* did with the pious *Aeneas* and the other *Trojan* heroes, perhaps on this very spot.

DURING dinner, the conversation turned on the many agreeable voyages, which they had lately made near *Naples*, particularly to the small arched rocky island called the *School of Virgil*, and

to the aerial mountain of *Misenus**; *Misenum*, which *Agrippa* as much ennobled with his sea-port, as *Trajan* did this mouth of the *Tiber*.

WHEN the cloth was removed from the turf, *Crito*, at the desire of the company, read to them the following paper.

PLINY JUNIOR.

FROM ROLLIN, CREVIER, MELMOTH, Lord
ORRERY, &c.

PART II.

THE whole history of the natural world perhaps presents not any scene so dreadful, as the great eruption of mount *Vesuvius*, in the reign of *Titus*. Mountains rent, cities overwhelmed, earthquakes shaking both sea and land, and the deepest darkness covering the sun.

IN the midst of this general consternation and horror, when all nature seemed approaching to its destruction, how nobly did *Pliny*, (then eighteen years of age) begin his life? He was at that time in the country near *Vesuvius*, (at *Misenum*) following his studies under his uncle's care. Far from endeavouring to fly even from such perils, he

* *Monte sub aerio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
Dicitur, aeternumque tenet per secula nomen.*

he could not think of providing for his own security while he was uncertain of that of his uncle; when his aged mother conjured him to abandon her, and escape himself, he quitted not her hand, nor ceased (with the piety of an *Æneas*) to support her slow steps *, while the streets of *Misenum* fell in ruins all around them, and the clouds rained fire. Happily they both were preserved.

SUCH filial goodness was the sure mark and prognostic of what other amiable virtues were soon to appear in him. Indeed during the whole progress of his life, (even when raised to the highest honours of the state, and to the favour of *Trajan*, the most potent prince that ever sat on the *Roman* throne) his disposition continued the same as at *Misenum*. Love of indefatigable uninterrupted study †; and love of the most indefatigable, the most

* This noble behaviour of young *Pliny* was very probably owing to his having read with attention in his uncle's works the noble history of those two *Sicilian* youths, who saved the lives of their parents on a similar occasion, in *maximo Aetnæ incendio*. Vid. chapter on the *Roman Charity*, vol. i. p. 262.

† *Et gaudium mihi* (inquit *Plinius*, lib. viii. ep. 19.) *Et solatium in literis: nihilque tam lætum est, quod non per has lætius fiat: nihil tam triste, quod non per has fiat minus triste. Itaque in infirmitate uxoris, Et amicorum periculo aut morte turbatus, ad studia, unicum doloris levamentum, confugio: quæ præstant ut adversa patientius feram.*

The same, with still more truth, might be said of devotion.

most intrepid *beneficence*, filled always his mind, in all prosperity, in all adversity *.

IN the preceding paper you have seen many instances of *Pliny's* heroic goodness: but indeed his whole life seems to have been employed in the exercise of every generous and social affection. His character is one of the most amiable of all antiquity. To vindicate oppressed innocence, to encourage ingenious talents, to forward modest merit, are some of the glorious purposes to which he devoted his power, his fortune, and his abilities.

BUT how does he rise in our esteem and admiration, when we see him exercising (with a grace that discovers his humanity as well as politeness) the most noble acts both of public and private munificence, not so much from the abundance of his wealth (of which he was content with a very moderate share) as the wisdom of his œconomy!

BUT instead of weakly endeavouring to trace out all the variety of his good actions, (though
what

* May these two noble objects be also the *principal objects* of some of those who may begin their education with these papers! For no two virtues perhaps ought more mutually improve each other.

Bo
wh
the
mi
if
stu
hea
wh
the
any
by
in
hea

M
and
that
(the
thos
(hist
him
with
but
calan
oppr
been
and

• I
Lib. v
Lib. i

Book v. HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

259

what lesson can be more instructive to youth than the various examples of such *constantis* multiformisque *benevolentiae* ?) I hope I shall be pardoned if I refer you, my dear fellow students, to the study of *Pliny's* own works. May your good hearts be warmed with gratitude and generosity, while perusing his epistles, (which, after those of the *Augustan* age, are the most *elegant in style* of any) particularly those which are taken notice of by *Rollin*, that writer equal at least to *Pliny* himself in that same great qualification of goodness of heart *.

MAY you peruse with the same good intention and success, the character drawn by *Pliny* of *Trajan*: that great emperor; who, probably at that time, (the beginning of his reign) really deserved all those encomiums, which antient or modern writers (historians as well as panegyrist) have heaped on him. For in him there were then united great talents with greater virtues. He was glorious in war, but far more glorious in peace: relieving all the calamities of his people, delivering them from all oppressions, elevating their minds, (which had been broke and depressed by *Domitian's* tyranny) and encouraging all virtues, and all arts and sciences

* Lib. i. ep. 8. & 19. Lib. ii. ep. 4. & 6. Lib. iv. ep. 13. Lib. vi. ep. 3. Lib. vii. ep. 14. Lib. viii. ep. 2. & 24. Lib. ix. ep. 30.

sciences among them. Affable he then was and accessible to all ; friendly and modest in the height of power and honour ; rich, not so much by his imperial treasures, as by his frugality ; beneficent, not only by his authority, but still much more by his example*.

HE accepted the title of father of his country, as an engagement to treat his people as his children. He received from them the return of the most filial love and reverence, together with that most exalted and most amiable appellation, never before given by the *Romans* to any of their monarchs, that of *Optimus*. For most highly as he was then *admired*, he was still more *beloved*.

THE panegyric and epistles of *Pliny* are the most illustrious monuments of *Trajan's* glory ; superior perhaps to any trophies or triumphal column. But it must be remarked, that after *Pliny's* death, there was a great change in this emperor's character. He survived *Pliny* about
twelve

* The oath of public allegiance to his government he made conditional, to be binding only as long as he himself continued to govern well. He solemnly gave his sword to the chief officer of the guard with this order, To use it in defence of his sovereign, while ruling well ; when otherwise, in his destruction. *Cum Trajanus Præfeto militum Prætorianorum gladium daret, Accipe, inquit, gladium hunc ; ut eo, si justè imperem, pro me utaris ; siu malè, contra me. Quoniam moderatorem omnium peccare minus fas est, quàm cæteros.*

twelve or thirteen years ; which space of his life he adorned indeed with several works of public utility. For besides his great *provincial* works, particularly his bridge over the *Danube* ; and that great highway, which he extended through the length of the whole *Roman* empire in *Europe*, from the province of *Gaul*, even to the *Euxine* sea ; how many monuments are even to this day to be seen in *Italy*, of the roads which he repaired, of the bridges which he erected, of the marshes which he attempted to drain ? Besides this famous sea-port near which we are now sitting, how often have you admired on the *Roman* coins his other two sea ports of *Ancona* and *Civita Vecchia* ? You will long with pleasure remember the white-marble arch which you saw at the first of those cities ; which was erected there to his memory on this account, and which still preserves almost all its original beauty and splendor. You will also think it a circumstance tending to his honour, that these his two havens of *Civita Vecchia* and *Ancona*, are still to this day the principal seats of commerce to modern *Rome*. What a pity is it then, that a person so crowned with *the supreme glory of wise beneficence*, should stoop to the low and miserable glory of a conqueror ? How unhappy, that a passion for victories and triumphs should grow up in *such* an heart ? While accumulating conquest on conquest, (not only in the north, but in those distant

distant regions of the east, which were never before accessible to the *Roman* arms) he unhappily grew fond of the thought of becoming a rival of *Alexander* the Great: his rival, not now so much in the good parts of his character, (such as building of cities, encouraging arts and sciences, opening sea-ports, planting colonies, extending commerce, and other great works of public utility) but in unlimited desires of dominion and false glory; of subjecting not only *Persia*, but of extending his victorious arms even to *Arabia* and *India*.

— *Deterior paulatim & decolor ætas,
Et belli rabies, & amor successit habendi.*

HE became consequently, as *Alexander* was when in the same *Persian* regions, most unmeasurably ambitious. By degrees he grew very vain and very proud; and (so impossible is it for any one to do himself either little good or little harm, by the examples which he chuses to follow; and so certainly will vice, when entered into the heart, soon amidst all its pride shew its natural meanness, and continual propension to still lower and lower degeneracy) he imitated even the other meaner vices of *Alexander*; cruelty, drunkenness, &c. he sunk even into the lowest vices, far below those of the *Macedonian*; vices which tarnish all his fame, and for ever degrade him from being (what the beginning of his history so much

much promised) one of the most exalted characters of mankind.—The noisy fame with which now his name is attended, is *not the shadow* of that true glory which (if he had escaped such corruption of heart) would have eternally adorned his memory by the unanimous suffrage of all the wise and good. Great indeed were the real merits of this most famous emperor; but let it always be remembered, that some few capital crimes will destroy all the honour acquired by many of the greatest virtues.

It must be owned also that *Pliny* himself had a failing, which clouded sometimes his so amiable character; though it was far from spreading on it so dark and disastrous an eclipse, as that which blots out much more than half of *Trajan's* splendor. His failing was a puerile one, that of *vanity and love of applause*. A seemingly small failing perhaps, but surely a very dangerous one, and really very unworthy of a great mind, especially if regarded as the reward of the labours of virtue. Far superior to any thing on earth is the *real* reward prepared for beneficent goodness; (that reward which is eternal in the heavens) far superior is the celestial immortality, to the fancied immortality of historic fame, of which *Cicero* and *Pliny* were so fond. How much indeed is it to be lamented, that *Pliny*, contemporary as he was to the greatest saints of the primitive church, and so like them

in

in the natural charity of his heart, had not given more attention thoroughly to understand their doctrine, and imbibe its *full* spirit? His works preserve a most genuine and important monument of ecclesiastical antiquity*, a most clear evidence of the purity and benevolence of the Christian doctrine in those early ages against the calumny of its adversaries. What pity then is it that he had not taken one step further? How trifling and childish would these vanities then have appeared to him, when converted to *the doctrine of life and immortality*? How would he then, (like other his contemporary saints and confessors) in expectation of such a reward, have willingly lived and died, practising continually the most glorious virtues, though in the humblest obscurity? The virtues of the primitive Christians were indeed, by far, the most glorious that ever adorned the annals of the *Roman* empire. The *Roman* history might in them place its *chief* honour:

*It might relate of thousands, and their names
Eternize here on earth: but those blest saints,
Contented with their praise in highest heav'n,
Seek not the praise of men.*

Paradise Lost, book vi.

CHAP.

* Lib. x. epist. 97.



C H A P. IV.

THIRTY-FIRST DAY'S CONVERSATION.

AT the foot of the great *Alban* mountain, (about sixteen miles from *Rome*) are three lakes: the famous *Alban* lake; that of *Nemi*, (which *still* preserves much of its antient name, *Nemus Dianæ*, and of its antient beauty also, being surrounded with high hills *still* covered with a thick and gloomy wood) and lastly that of *Aricia*: this last is now drained, and presents to the eye the form of a most spacious and beautiful circus: its *arena* being a vast meadow of the richest verdure, and its sides covered with vine-yards and olive-groves.

THE banks of this last lake are famous for having frequently been the scene of *Numa's* studious retirement; and his favourite retreat, next after the *Egerian* valley; as the neighbourhood of the lake *Nemi* is also famous for the villa, there situated, of *Antoninus Pius*; that blessed emperor, whose character so nearly resembled that of *Numa*.

BETWEEN these three lakes (which form a kind of equilateral triangle) stood, it is said, the city of *Alba Longa*, built by *Ascanius*: and the inhabitants of the modern town of *Albano* still pretend to shew his tomb in that neighbourhood.

THIS company of friends set out from *Rome* at day-break, in order to visit these three lakes. After having passed the morning at those of *Aricia* and *Nemi*, they arrived at *Albano* at noon: having in their way seen the famous sepulchre, generally called that of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, but by the antiquarians, judged to be that erected by *Cornelia* to the memory of her husband, *Pompey* the Great; that is, *Pompey*, the great example of the instability and vanity of the highest human grandeur.

AT *Albano* they dined, and (after having taken their afternoon's repose of half an hour's sleep, according to the custom in this climate) between six and seven o'clock in the evening they walked up towards the lake, their minds and bodies being quite calm and refreshed; and most properly disposed for the calm and pleasing study and business of the day; the character of PLUTARCH.

THE sun was now declining to the sea, and in the part of the heavens opposite to it appeared the moon, now nearly at the full, and of a silver brightness,

brightness, though it was still broad day-light. Every thing was calm and cool: not a cloud to be seen, except one fleecy vapour which rested on the summit of the *Alban* mountain, hovering over the spot of that famous temple, (of which some remains are still to be seen) the temple of *Jupiter Albanus*, the νεφεληγερετα Ζευς * of *Latium*.

BETWEEN the lake and the sea is a monastery garden †; on one side of which is a chapel neat and plain, though, according to the custom of the country, ornamented in every part with a variety of fragrant flowers, the best products of the neighbouring garden. From the porch of this chapel is a very extensive prospect of the plains of *Laurentum* and *Lavinium*, of the mouth of the *Tiber*, and of the *Mediterranean* sea for above fifty miles. On the other side of the garden is a rock, hollowed by the hand of nature into the form of a broad but low alcove. The top of it is crowned by a grove of cypresses, and before it stand three aged pines; which, by their lofty trunks and spreading branches, form a most venerable portico to it. From this cave appears in full view the hill and forest of *Algidum*, and the oval

L 2

Alban

* The clouds generally hang on this hill; especially before some rainy weather; of which they are judged by the inhabitants to be a prognostic.

† Vide *Addison's Travels*.

Alban lake, unruffled by the least breeze, smooth as a mirror, and blue as a slate.

How pleasing is the contrast (said one of the young gentlemen) between the smooth and still expanse of these waters, and the rapidity of that yellow river, on which we yesterday failed? With how much pleasure could I pass the remainder of this evening on these silent banks, (especially if I had in my hands one of the mild philosophical lives, written by *Plutarch*) and sit some hours of the night too at the mouth of this cave, looking on this lake as illuminated by the moon? The silence indeed of the whole scene; the lightness, calmness, purity, and sweetness of the air; the dead level of this large piece of fresh water, six miles in circuit; and that lofty and august *Alban* mountain, which rises on the other side of it, and nobly closes the prospect, fill the mind with an inexpressible kind of awful placidity.

I know not (proceeded he, after some pause) whether, after all my endeavours to prepare myself for a parliamentary life, I am not mistaken in the choice of my chief object, and consequently in the whole plan of my life: whether, after all, a calm retired *country* life is not the happiest and best: Whether it is not wiser to be contented with the
sweet

sweet and calm scene of rural beauty, and with the scheme of doing good in our family, and in the moderate but sure sphere of usefulness in the country; rather than to quit, in great measure, all this happiness and usefulness for uncertain views in parliament, *miseræque per arctum Luctari ambitionis iter*; that troubled stream in which there are so many rocks,

*Oh friend! to dazzle let the vain design;
To raise the thought, and bless the heart, be thine!
So when the sun's broad beam has tir'd the sight,
All mild ascends yon moon's more sober light,
Serene in virgin modesty she shines,
And unobserv'd that glaring orb declines.*

MOST young men, I believe, enter parliament with some intentions and hopes of doing service there to the public; but how soon are most of these generally disappointed, by finding this noble design above their strength? How soon do they find their talents of mind, and their industry also, far inferior to a true senatorial character, which demands both of these in the highest degree? In the mean time, in what great and continued danger are they of the worst of ruin to themselves, by living in such a scene? A scene, full indeed of many great and good, even most

excellent, characters, but also full of much corruption and strife, of much pride and envy.

*How oft by these at thirty are undone,
The virtues of a saint at twenty-one.*

How thickly indeed is that road of life strowed with thorns and flints, and how full is it of the deepest precipices? On the whole, in that kind of life, how few have power to do any considerable good? How few have strength to resist such temptations to evil?

ON the other side, how much more happy and truly noble is a country life? the calm beauty and tranquil grandeur of nature is continually before the eyes of a person, who is so happy as to chuse his station there. His labours go on smoothly, for his kind of life is founded in wise humility; and the great power of universal nature is daily co-operating with him, and sending him on in his course, not by his own strength, but by the irresistible gale of its own prosperous influence. His plants and his children grow, whether he sleep or wake: the clouds and the sun are continually in motion to forward his agriculture: in his leisure hours at home he has continual opportunities of improving and exalting his mind by the wisdom
of

of the dead*, a far better instructor than the conversation of the living: and, even in his most solitary walks, he is accompanied, like *Plutarch's Numa*, by many celestial virtues, who (though unseen to human eye) fill all his groves and grotts around him. Nor is his beneficence to mankind confined to so narrow a sphere as first may be imagined. For the noble scheme of a life of beneficence is, as I have heard my father observe, (and indeed what I have been now saying are entirely *his* sentiments) best answered, not by aiming at first at a most elevated station, but by chusing that kind of life, which is most approved by true wisdom; that is, true humility: and then, by persevering with all industry to make that kind of life as useful to others as possible. When a benevolent heart is thus rightly placed and planted, its effects often grow to an amazing extent; the humble acorn becomes an oak, and perhaps too becomes the instrument of conveying many blessings of life to the inhabitants of the most remote regions of the whole earth.

L 4

Most

* It is perhaps needless to add here any reflection on the high utility of *Plutarch's* writings for such a purpose. The famous President *Montesquieu* is said to have been of opinion; that if all the literary labours of the learned men of *Greece* and *Rome* were to be destroyed; one book only (which should be judged of most utility to mankind) being excepted; *Plutarch's Lives* would really deserve the *high* honour of such a nomination and preference.

MOST true indeed are these your observations in general, replied *Crito*; and happy would it be for many young men, whose station and fortune are really inferior to a parliamentary life, and who consequently are with more difficulty capable of independence in it; if, by reflecting on such solid considerations, they would damp their fond ambition of the senatorial office, and apply themselves to their true glory, the full performance of the duties of that station in which Providence has placed them; all other designs scarce ever concluding in any thing, but in *vanity and vexation of spirit*. Yet you will recollect, that *your* great rank and fortune, as well as your *kind of genius and industry*, all call on *you* to this great, though dangerous, service of the state,

A SEAT in the *British* parliament is in all respects your proper sphere. Your neighbours in the country, and your own family, all with justice expect this service from you. May you meet with all success in it! But may you (according to that advice, which is most worthy of the most Christian philosopher) never forget the great difference that there is between that day when you shall be congratulated by all your friends, on your being elected to your seat in parliament, and that other day, when you will
be

be called by death to give an account of your behaviour there*.

EVEN in your most prosperous time of life, you will often from that elevated station cast a longing look on a calm rural retirement. *Numa* and *Antoninus* often did so, when they made from *Rome* a short visit to *these* lakes: yet still did they continue with unabated diligence, their *public* most beneficent labours for the peace and happiness of mankind.

AT present we are to consider the character *Plutarch*. But give me leave also to recommend to your perusal, the life of a modern *Italian*, who in several other respects was the *Plutarch* of his country, the *Venetian Paruta*. He (while ambassador here at *Rome*) in a most instructive manner wrote a short history of his own life, in that treatise called his *Soliloquy*, of which *Tbuanus* speaks with such commendation. I read it with great pleasure some days ago, having found it at the end of some of his political dissertations, which you brought with you from *Venice*. But endued as *Paruta* was with great goodness of heart, as well as with great love of science and

* The Marquis of *Fenelon* made the same compliment to his friend *Harlay*, on his being promoted to the archbishoprick of *Paris*.

and of retirement; yet how laborious was he in those his excellent political treatises and history, (which do such honour to his country, and are so instructive to the world) and how active was he in the *public* service himself, when called to the highest stations, restoring the peace and happiness, not only of his own country, but of many other nations *?

BUT let us think of the business of the day; *the character of Plutarch* himself. Indeed this calm, but noble, country scene, which suggested to you such good thoughts, best suits also with the reading such a kind of character. For the turn of *Plutarch's* mind and heart was such as yours is at present; loving retirement, and avoiding public stations, even the highest: (some of *Plutarch's* biographers say, that he was, by *Trajan*, once named to the *Roman* consulship) but here is the great difference: *Paruta's* genius was proper for a political, as well as for a studious retired life: *Plutarch's* genius, though so much greater, was yet more confined to the latter. Consequently he acted right in really confining himself to the latter; though his fortune and friends were such, as to have advanced him to the highest public stations. Happy would it have been for *Seneca*, and several other learned characters of

* Vide Appendix to this Volume.

of antiquity, and for some persons also whose knowledge and abilities will be always of the greatest honour to the *British* nation, (I mean particularly the great lord *Bacon*) if they had imitated *Plutarch* in thus chusing that studious country life, for which nature seems so much to have designed them,

BUT is it not, my dear studious friends, something of a fortunate circumstance, that as *Plutarch* is one of the principal glories, not only of *Greece*, but of *Rome* also; so also this prospect before us presents us with a kind of mingled view of both those countries? The natives indeed of those *Latian* plains on our left, were originally *Italians*; but look on the noble range of mountains before us, and we shall find them all to have been the scenes of the lives and actions of many *Grecians*: for (not now to take notice of the many *Grecian* colonies which we have visited on these *Italian* coasts, such as *Pisa*, *Ancona*, *Cumæ*, &c.) on that neighbouring hill of *Tusculum* stood the city of the unhappy son of the king of *Ithaca*: a little beyond, is the mountainous *Sabine* country, cultivated by a colony of *Lacedæmonians*; who brought with them hither their native fortitude, love of poverty, labour, &c. Further north, you may distinguish the hills which hang over *Tivoli*; the founders of which city, the
sons

sons of the virtuous *Amphiaraus*, came from *Argos*; and even the *Palatine* hillock itself, in the broad plain below us, was, as we all know, first inhabited by the good *Arcadian* king, *Evander*, and by his equally good son, *Pallas*.

BEFORE this mingled prospect of *Greece* and *Italy* let us sit down, and examine his character, who so nobly employed himself in comparing the different virtues and merits of the most exalted characters of both these nations.

PLUTARCH.

DURING those ages, that the *Roman* empire was in its most settled condition, and possessed a quiet and established authority over most of the nations of the then known world, there arose in many of the countries subject to its dominion, many persons of the most exalted characters both in wisdom and virtue. *Greece* in particular produced several; who, as to the abilities of their mind, were not much inferior to their ancestors, (who adorned that country in the preceding ages) and were at least equal to them in the study of virtue and in the goodness of their hearts.

ONE of the principal of these was *Plutarch*. He was born in *Bæotia*, in the small city of *Chæroneæ*, and flourished in the times of *Titus*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan*. Between *Plutarch*, and his contemporary *Arrian*, were divided all the excellencies of the tongue, head, and heart of *Xenophon*. For if *Arrian* is justly said to have been a second *Xenophon*, particularly in his eloquence, *Plutarch* certainly deserves the same honour, in relation to the nobler qualities of genius, knowledge, and goodness. He seems indeed, in the early part of his life, to have seriously considered in what way he could best employ all his future years, and all his abilities, so as best to please the great Creator, and to do most good to his fellow-creatures. Finding in himself a strong turn to literature, (improved, increased, and directed by a good education) he resolved to follow the advice of nature, and to turn his application principally to the cultivation of that great talent: not employing himself in trifling learning, (the follies of studious men) but directing his attention to the most principal and glorious parts of *real* and *useful* knowledge; and thus making all his studies (*first*) a *constant* and *wise exercise* to himself, for the improvement of his own *piety* and *virtue*, and (*secondly*) as powerful an instrument for extending his *beneficence* to mankind.

1. By these studies he laid deep in his mind the most noble foundations of all religion, viz. worthy conceptions of the great Creator of this glorious universe: of his unity, power, and majesty; his immensity, omnipresence, and eternity; and above all, of his holiness and goodness; particularly in having prepared rewards for the virtuous in the life to come. He says, that the knowledge of GOD is of all the eyes of the mind the most clear and the most lively: and that the greatest misfortune, which can ever befall it, is to be deprived of that knowledge: that it is GOD alone who is the giver of it, and that we ought never to cease praying to Him for it.

HE says also, that the true title of the *Divinity* is HE WHO IS; (I AM THAT I AM) thus including all eternity, without beginning, without end.

INDEED *Plutarch's* conceptions on these sublime subjects, seem to be much of the same kind, as those of the most part of the philosophical world in *those* ages; that is, in some measure cleared (though as yet far from being entirely disengaged) from the errors, superstitions, and darkness of idolatry; but continually improving in still more and more noble sentiments of piety and virtue; and shining forth as the glorious morning of that day,

day, which was then rising to illuminate all that large part of the world.

2. As to benefiting mankind by his studies, this seemed to have been his constant view in all his compositions *; (and always attended with the greatest humility and sincerity) particularly in that work which was the most noble fruit of his labours, viz. the lives of illustrious men of *Greece* and *Rome*.

IN the execution of this work, he received great advantages and assistance from his residence in *Greece*, and his frequent journeys to *Italy*; and from his connections and conversations with the greatest and wisest men in each of these countries. His application to reading had made him acquainted with all the historians and biographers; (as appears by his quotations) and he carefully follows them, searching always after truth, and not attending to any private or national partiality. He had also the pleasure of being acquainted with all the works of the ancient poets: as appears by his many frequent allusions to them, and which indeed to a young scholar are not so easy and pleasant, (especially in modern translations of this work) but to a person advanced in studies, and
reading

* It is to be remembered that several works that go under his name, are probably very falsely attributed to him.

reading the original, appear very beautiful and manly, give great variety and refreshment to the mind of the student, and pour a graceful elegance over the whole composition. But the great honour of this work of *Plutarch* is, that in it he has joined the most noble parts of *history*, with the most noble parts of *moral philosophy*: thus as it were joining the wisdom of his *contemporary Epictetus*, with that of that other great *Græco-Roman* worthy, *Polybius*; and benefiting the reader by their united, and consequently strongly increased, influence.

It is highly remarkable, that in describing the actions of bad men, he represents in the strongest light the misery and meanness of false ambition, and of all other vices: but it is *with the greatest pleasure*, that he dwells on the actions of the good, and sets forth their merits in their full splendor.

It is also highly remarkable; that, in speaking of this his own work, he thus expresses himself.—I first undertook it, that I might be serviceable to others: but I have reason to go on and persevere in this my design, if it was only in consideration of mine own advantage. For it is a constant daily admonition to me, how I ought to order and adorn my own life. In thus studying the actions of the best and most worthy

worthy

worthy of men, I grow acquainted with every one of them by turns, as much in some manner as if I had had the honour and happiness of being contemporary and really conversant with them. The whole of their character strikes me with reverence: each particular virtue also and excellence in their actions makes a deep impression on my mind: and with care do I collect the most beautiful and remarkable passages of their lives, as patterns for imitation. Surely, the Supreme Being can scarcely bestow on us a greater pleasure than that of such a study as this; nor teach us a more ready way to virtue, or a more powerful remedy against the surrounding contagion of idleness and vice.

O MY good and pious, as well as studious, young friends! to-morrow (being Sunday) morning, may we remember; with all humility; with all most earnest devotion; with bended knees; and elevated hearts; to offer up to that most great and gracious FATHER of the universe, due thanksgivings and petitions for his merciful and holy blessing on the *similar* work, in which we (*though most unworthy*) are at present so happily engaged.

BUT let us proceed in this happy and heavenly employment. In such employments, as these, so happy to himself, so beneficial to mankind, did *Plutarch*

continue to a great old age. For it had always been his prudence so to manage his health (by proper exercise, by temperance in diet and pleasures, and by a habit of commanding all his passions) as to preserve his strength of mind without decay. It cannot however but be highly regretted, that he did not live quite long enough to have been a spectator of the whole reign of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*, and to have crowned his collection of lives with the account of the actions of such princes.

BUT though these literary labours of *Plutarch* constitute the great glory of his character, yet even the other parts and actions of his life deserve great attention, and will furnish us with very useful instructions. One particular is very remarkable, that though his fortune was very considerable, and though the greatness of his character had intimately connected him with persons of the highest rank at *Rome*; (some of the principal of whom are said to have been his scholars, particularly the famous *Rusticus Arulenus*, and even the great emperor *Trajan*) yet he never made use of these advantages to satisfy any ambitious design for himself.

The purpose of his life was wholly beneficence. He was convinced, that his power of doing good would always lay chiefly in his literary labours:

and

• Vi
Justice

and he accordingly avoided all change and exaltation of station, which might hinder him from pursuing and perfecting these. He loved his country, and lived in it. The hours, which were not occupied in study, were employed by him in a continual course of kindness and domestic beneficence, — to his father, and brothers, — to his wife (who probably learned from him her very remarkable wisdom, modesty, and virtue) — to his children, and the care of their education, (and probably in a particular manner of his nephew *Sextus*, who afterwards was tutor to *Martus Aurelius*) — to his neighbours, (in labouring to reconcile all family differences, and misunderstandings among friends, and continually promoting peace and union among them all) — in the greatest humanity to his servants, — in continual kindness and protection to the poor, — in acts of mercy even to his cattle and beasts. (No consideration, says he, could move me to kill that ox, which has grown old in plowing my field*.)

THE rest of his time was devoted to the service of the public in the place where he lived. The affairs of the town of *Charonea* (which were to be decided at *Rome*) were indeed the occasions, which so often brought him hither to *Italy*; and, while at home, he was equally diligent in being of all possible service to her. Many years, even to his

M 1

death,

* Vide the similar most amiable character of Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, at page 309, in the Appendix to the first Volume.

death, did he continue to execute the office of judge and of priest in that little town. He even accepted the offices of the *lowest* magistrature there, looking on any office of trust from the public, as a great honour. *He despised not any opportunity of doing the least good.* He pleased himself in overseeing the repairs of the public buildings, and even in surveying and mending the highways; following the humble example of his countryman, the great *Epaminondas*, the glory of *Bœotia*, who accepted and executed these *low* offices with the greatest diligence and spirit *. Neither he nor *Plutarch* thought such employments below them. They ennobled these offices by their method of executing them. They at the same time shewed the greatness of their love and attention to their country, which made them submit even to the *lowest* things which might be of any service to her: thus in all things heightening the dignity of their country, and losing none of their own.

FROM this part of this great man's character, may you, my noble friends, learn still more and more to respect the *inferior* public offices of the state; which are really of very *great* consequence in maintaining the general peace and happiness of the country. Let those particularly of my profession, who are fixed in a country-life by the duty of that *their sacred office, which demands the highest degrees*

* Vid. page 305 of the first Volume.

degrees of humility and indefatigable beneficence, learn thus even from an heathen, not to murmur at their lot, nor complain that their sphere of usefulness is too contracted. Let them do all the great good which is there already in their power, before they dare to make that complaint. Let them reflect that it is not in the possibility of things, for any one to have a more *really noble* employment, than that of continually improving themselves and the souls of their Christian brethren committed to their charge, in piety and holy knowledge. The time that is not thus taken up, let them employ it in domestic duties, in all kind of beneficence to their neighbours, and particularly in the chearful and benevolent and merciful execution of the *little* public offices, which may be entrusted to their care,

THIS will be the most happy relaxation of their minds; by *this* means they will be able to be *continually* offering up some oblation or other to HIM, who graciously rewards the smallest offices of charity, even the gift of a cup of cold water, according to the kind intention: *this* will make their whole lives *a continued chain of never-ceasing, never-interrupted perpetual beneficence and piety*, which is the greatest honour, happiness, and wisdom that can be aimed at in this life; as it is the most perfect image of the glory, felicity, and celestial light in that which is to come.



C H A P. V.

THIRTY-SECOND DAY'S CONVERSATION.

I N the evening of the following Sunday, *Crito* called at the lodgings of his young friends: he had already been there in the morning on another account. On going up stairs he was much pleased to hear the sound of music, and, on entering the room, found them all three, together with a choice band of some excellent *Italian* masters of music, each with their favourite instruments in their hands. On the table before them lay several *Italian* compositions, particularly a late famous piece of church-music, the words of which are those of the hymn, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terrâ pax, &c.* But the compositions which they were at that time performing, were some parts of *Handel's* *Messiah*: a work of divine harmony, the noblest perhaps which ever entered into the mind of man, and by the unanimous confession of these *Italian* masters, far superior to any thing of the same length composed by any of their countrymen.

—And

He shall feed his flock, like a shepherd;

And gather the lambs under his arm;

And gently lead those that are with young.

THIS delightful pastoral was then performing, accompanied with sweet symphony of flutes and violins, when *Crito* entered; who, at the request of his friends, presently sat down to the chamber organ; and joined his hand and voice, mind and soul, with their harmony.

THE band thus strengthened with the addition of so noble an instrument, and so excellent a performer, now found themselves able at large to launch into, and elevate their minds with those astonishing and most exalted chorusses (scarce unworthy of the heavenly choir of angels) which are so frequently and judiciously interspersed through the whole of this wonderful composition, and which so powerfully support the dignity of that divine, though mild and gracious character, which is the subject of it.

The government shall be upon his shoulder,

And his name shall be called—the Prince of Peace.

AN hour and more passed away in this heavenly and happy manner: (for eternity itself will not be tedious when so employed.) Even after they had concluded all, their ears seemed still for some time to retain the notes, the flow of harmony

seemed still to be continued, their hearts overflowing with benevolence and joy, and their souls being all filled with heaven.

A MOST refreshing calmness and serenity of mind, as well as of countenance, succeeding in all the company, *Crito* unwilling to omit so blessed an opportunity, spoke as follows. (The *Italian* performers being now withdrawn, and having taken their leave of this *English* company.)

THIS happy Sunday-evening's concert, what a fortunate omen is it, as well as what a proper introduction and preparation, for the happy and noble employment, which will demand our attention this following week? Indeed such a father, and such a son, two such patrons of virtue and peace, as *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, deserve to have their characters introduced by the sweetest preceding sacred symphony. It will at least be a fortunate circumstance, that though I have compiled the characters of these two sovereigns of most blessed, really blessed, memory, merely from short extracts of history; yet my candid audience will by this preceding holy harmony have their hearts so attuned, their memory and genius so awakened and adapted to all sentiments of goodness, that all these great deficiencies on my part will be amply made up by the thoughts, which will

will now seem of themselves to flow into your minds.

TO-MORROW morning we will visit the noble monuments of the memory of *Antoninus*, and during the remainder of the week those of *Aurelius*. How happily will this week, *this golden week*, pass? Indeed after such an heavenly musical exercise, how more properly may we gradually descend to our usual good employment, than by resting some days, and studying these two characters, which seem to be placed half way between the most exalted Christian and Heathen virtues.

NEXT Saturday evening, if you please, we will again meet here, and repeat again this heavenly music; thus concluding and crowning this *happy week*, in the same manner as we have now begun, and shall, I hope, endeavour to continue it.

I COULD wish, said one of the young gentlemen, that we could begin one of these, *Antoninus Pius*, directly. We have not indeed at present *before our eyes* any of the numerous architectural monuments erected to his memory by his son, *Aurelius*, yet we have the ideas of them all fresh in our memories: as well of the magnificent marble *Atrium* of that temple which we saw so lately at *Puteoli*, as of those two other temples here, by
which

which we pass almost every day, that * in the *Via Sacra* (how properly situated?) near the temple of *Peace*, and that † in his *Forum* near the *Pantheon*. Besides, how many coins of his long and happy reign could I now lay before you on my table? Two
particu-

* This temple was in length one hundred and sixty-four feet, and eighty-two in breadth. Its portico is supported by ten columns (still standing, though half buried) of *Cipolino* marble, or *Lapis Phrygius*. These pillars, though forty feet in height, and near five in diameter, are each of them one single stone only: being the largest of that marble any where to be seen. The architrave on both sides of the portico consists of immense blocks of *Parian* marble, the broad frieze of which is adorned with several large bas-reliefs of the richest sculpture. Within the space of this antient temple stands a modern church called *St. Lorenzo in Miranda*, that being the name given by the Goths to this really wonderful edifice. Vide ABATE VENUTI's excellent *Treatise on the Antiquities of Rome*.

† The remains of this *Forum* are, first, one side of the *Curia*, (supported still by eleven pillars of fluted marble, in height forty-two feet and an half) and secondly, the great column, which stood in the center of this square, and which was found deeply buried there: being by its fall broke in three pieces. This column was one single block (the largest in the world of that stone) of red *Egyptian* granite; it lies on the ground, and measures above fifty-seven feet in length. The beautiful pedestal on which it stood, is fortunately preserved entire, and is placed now near its original situation immediately before the entrance of the principal *Roman* courts of justice on *Monte Citorio*. The late pope had some intentions of repairing and re-erecting its column on it.

Is it not something remarkable, that the three great monuments of *Antonine's* memory now remaining, (the temple in the *Via Sacra*; that other temple, or *Curia*, which is now the custom-house; and the pedestal of this obelisk) should all, even to this day, thus be dedicated; the first to religion, the second to commerce, the third to justice, those three great objects of the care of every sovereign, and the three great blessings of every people.

particularly : the reverse of one of which is a *Caduceus* of peace between two *Cornucopie* ; and that of the other, a figure, if I am not mistaken, in *imperial* robes, with an olive-branch in his hand, and with this *divine* inscription round it, *Pax Orbis Terrarum*. But look at that most venerable bust over the chimney, the bust of *Antoninus*, which I was so happy as to purchase yesterday, and which I shall send next week, together with the bust of *Numa*, to my father. How happy will the heart of the good old Gentleman be, in receiving two such presents from me, and in placing them in those parts of his library for which I have designed them ! May I on my return to *England* find them both safely arrived there, and the good old man well too. Indeed he is the kindest, best of fathers.

DEAR SIR, replied *Crito*, (with a face all-brightened with a smile full of happiness and benevolence) you forget that it is Sunday evening : however let me not scruple to obey you ; let me not be so much of a Pharisee, as to think, or pretend to think, that we shall misemploy this day by conversing for some time on such a subject as the virtues of *Antoninus Pius*. The more sacred the day, the more proper is it for the perusal of this sacred character. Sacred surely I may in some sense

sense call it : for though he had not the happiness of completing the glory of his character by fully embracing the divine doctrines of Christianity, (to which however he seems to have approached near) yet his virtues were such, as to have crowned him, at least in some sense and in some imperfect degree, with the very title of the Founder of our most holy religion, who was the *true prince of peace, and blessing of the whole earth*.

GIVE me leave however to hope, that after we have conversed for half an hour on this subject, we shall return again to the same happy musical sacred exercise, in which I found you employed ; that you will (at least as far as is possible without the assistance of the hands and voices of these your musical *Italian* friends) close this evening with a repetition both of the *English* and *Latin* song of peace, the words and music of which seem almost equally angelical, and thus with that celestial harmony dismiss us, as *Antonine* himself wished to be dismissed from this life, in perfect tranquility and peace,

ANTONINUS

ANTONINUS PIUS.

ONE morning, while at *Naples*, I sat for some time on the rocks near the tomb of *Virgil*, and there heard my dear pupil read the latter part of the sixth *Æneid*: nor could I help asking his opinion; that supposing *Virgil* had been endowed with the power of foreseeing the future heroes who were to adorn the history of *Rome* after his death, whom among these he would have prophetically regarded with the greatest love and admiration? whom he would probably have adorned with all the ornaments of poetry, as the principal character of the latter part of the catalogue of *Roman* worthies?

It would probably (he replied) have been *Antoninus Pius*. *Hic vir, hic est — Aurea condet Secula qui rursus Latio*. — For he revived the memory of the best and wisest, that is, the most *pacific*, princes of this country; he, like the pious *Æneas*, bore the same high title acquired by the same excellent character of filial gratitude and love.

ANTONINUS, from his infancy, discovered all the marks of a sweet temper. In his childhood,

hood, he was loving and beloved by all who had care of his education; as well as by his parents: in his youth, in proportion as this most happy temper of mind more fully disclosed itself, he every day became more amiable and more esteemed.

BUT it is remarkably to his honour, that (contrary to what is observed in many such young persons) vain-glory had every day a less and less powerful effect on his noble and excellent mind; and that though he was continually and justly acquiring fresh honours, yet his humility encreased in proportion to them.

HAVING attained to the state of manhood, he employed himself in a manner highly exemplary to all *British* gentlemen; his time being divided between the attention to the happy art and old *Roman* employment of agriculture, and the due execution of some public offices committed to his care.

IN the following years his life grew continually more and more important and beneficial to the public.

THE first great extension of his sphere of beneficence was his celebrated proconsulship in *Asia Minor*: which country indeed seems to have had the

the honour and happiness of the two best of *Romans* for its governors; in the republican times, a *Scævola*; and in the imperial, an *Antonine*; in the same manner as the neighbouring province of *Cilicia* was first blessed and honoured by a *Cicero*, and afterwards by a *Pliny*.

BUT Providence, in gracious benevolence to mankind, continued to exalt him to still higher and higher stations, and for that purpose at last placed in his hand even the *imperial* sceptre.

THIS favour of Providence produced in him no other change, than a still greater amendment of life, and still higher improvement of his virtue; and of that virtue particularly, which is the true foundation and origin of all the rest, humility.

ANTONINE was much too wise to fear that he should degrade himself by that noblest of virtues: (his virtue indeed rendered him far more respectable, than any of the proudest ornaments of majesty could do) he knew, that by wise humility he could lose no part of the public *reverence*, but must greatly increase the public *love* to his character.

THE *first* fruits to him of that *happy* virtue of humility, were perpetual contentment; and undisturbed calm peace, and serenity of mind; and rapturous

rapturous happiness of heart. The *next* were benevolence and humanity; the sweetness of his temper by it indeed became unchangeable.

IF ever he was obliged to use severity, he always tempered it with mercy: but he totally forgot all injuries that had been offered to him, while in a private station: he persevered in doing good to those who slandered and ridiculed his government: he shewed his clemency, even to those who conspired against his life *, and became a kind protector and guardian of their children.

SUCH was his conduct to his enemies; as to his people, it is remarked that he guided all the affairs of this vast empire, with the same attention and love, as a good parent exerts in the affairs of all his children. *Tantâ diligentia subiectos sibi populos rexit, ut omnia & omnes, quasi sua essent, curaret.*

As to his œconomy, his finances were kept exactly regular: and consequently his treasury was continually full and encreasing. By the same happy œconomy he was exalted above all desire of any unjust or improper gain. He took the greatest care never to oppress his subjects. Averse to all exaction, (particularly in the levying

of

* It is remarkable, that as this was the first, so it was the only conspiracy, that ever was formed against him.

of the revenues) *nunquam letatus est lucro, quo
annus provincialis oppressus est*. Such I know will
be the kind care of this company in regard to your
own poor tenants in the country. Such also will
be your labours in parliament in imitating (if pos-
sible) that patriotic benevolent wisdom of *Antonine*,
by which he relieved the capital and provinces of
the empire from great part of the taxes with
which they were loaded. He was at the same time
liberal to persons of merit, charitable to the poor,
and in all kinds of public distresses shewing by his
tender, active, and most generous compassion, that
he had nothing so much at heart, as the ease and
happiness of his people *. In all his own expences,
particularly in his table, he was very moderate and
temperate ; but in public works he was most
magnificent, as the stately ruins of his structures
at the two most distant parts of his empire so
abundantly testify ; I mean, the temple of *Balbec*,
the description of which you read in *England* with
such pleasure, and the bridge near his native city

VOL. II.

N

of

* When *Antonine* was advised by his empress *Faustina*, not
to be so generous to the public ; (hinting perhaps, that it would
be wiser to take the opportunity of enriching himself and his
family out of the imperial revenues) he answered, that far
from having the idea of encreasing his own property out of
the public treasures committed to his care, he ought to think
himself, from the first day of his inauguration, obliged more
than ever, to dispose of his whole private fortune in public be-
nefices &c. — *Posteaquam ad imperium transivimus, etiam quæ ha-*
buius ante, perdidimus.

of *Nismes*, which you so much admired in your journey through *France*.

His goodness never appeared mixed with weakness. For (according to the observation of *Marcus Aurelius*) he placed his happiness in proper employment, and always persevered in a course of indefatigable industry. He chose with the greatest prudence his servants, friends, and ministers. His servants he made happy, but kept to their duty: his friends he continued (though exalted to so high a station) to treat with his usual affability, humility, and most sincere love: his ministers, as long as they behaved well, he never changed. He was superior to all flattery, yet he always was attentive to advice. In all business he diligently himself examined the state of the case: he considered it in all lights, particularly in regard to its future consequences, in the foreseeing of which he was remarkably sagacious.

His rectitude of conduct was inflexible, and his discernment peculiar, in distinguishing the proper objects, occasions, and bounds, both of justice and of mercy*. He was a patron and protector of all kinds

* It is remarkable, that *Antoninus Pius* protected the Christians from persecution; that he always behaved to them with equity; and that he publicly commended them, for their faith in their God, for their fortitude in all kinds of torments and of death, and for all those their other virtues, which shone so bright, in contrast with the vices of their persecutors.

kinds of science, particularly of philosophy *. He was himself eminent in the highest science, that of his own great profession, the good government of mankind.

WISDOM produced in him an ardent piety and virtue, uninfluenced by superstition, and (what is the most distinguished mark of a truly superior character) uniform in all its parts, and on all occasions. But scarce ever did that wisdom or that virtue appear in a more noble light, than in the care which he took of the education and instruction of his great successor, *Marcus Aurelius*; whom (as he afterwards grew up to a proper age) he consulted on all occasions †. Happy picture of parental and filial duty and concord!

N 2

BUT

* *Antonine* had himself great obligations to philosophy; having been the disciple of *Arrian*, who was the disciple of *Epicetus*; in the same manner as *Marcus Aurelius* was the disciple of *Sextus*, who was the disciple and nephew of *Plutarch*. — What an honour is it to virtuous learning, that thus two of its professors (though living so private and retired a life as *Plutarch* did, and *Epicetus* much more) yet should by such noble instruments, thus extend their beneficence to the utmost limits of the whole *Roman* world? And how great an encouragement is this consideration to all persons of a benevolent and studious turn of mind?

† It is said, that *Antonine* laboured with *Aurelius* in endeavouring to reform and regulate the *Roman* law, and that to him particularly is owing that wise and salutary law, (which is a blessing to the public even at this day) of no man's being liable to be tried or troubled more than once for one and the same thing.

BUT of all, the highest proof both of the talents of his mind, and of the excellence of his heart, is that during a long reign of no less than *three and twenty years*, he preserved continual uninterrupted peace throughout the whole Roman world. *Si unquam pace longo tempore imperium Romanum gavisum est, id accidit Antonino Pio imperante: solusque omnium prope principum, inquit Capitolinus, prorsus sine civili sanguine aut hostili vixit* *. Peace was his delight, as well from wise reflection, as from natural happy disposition: and with great complacency did he frequently repeat that noble sentiment of *Scipio*, “ I had much rather save the life of one man, than destroy a thousand of mine enemies.”

BEING thus entirely undisturbed by the sad cares of war, nothing hindered him from giving himself up absolutely and entirely to the glorious and joyful employment of encreasing the happiness of mankind: particularly in his own dominions; the limits of which he was not ambitious to extend, but all the numerous inhabitants of which, he was most desirous to benefit and enrich, by the true and solid methods of agriculture and of commerce.

No wonder that such a sovereign should most cordially be beloved by his own subjects, and revered by foreign, whether neighbouring or distant, nations; and that he should thus, by such justice

* Vide *Vaillant* de Numismatibus.

justice and goodness, acquire *that immense reputation*, with which no victories or triumphs could ever have crowned him. He was the father not only of his country, but (what is a much greater duty) of all mankind *.

DESERVEDLY indeed is he, in history, compared to *Numa*; and placed in the same exalted rank of characters, at least on a level with that most venerable king of *Rome*. The love of peace, and love of virtue, were, by *Numa*, spread through all the provinces of *Italy*: but by *Antoninus Pius*, through all the provinces of the then known world.

THESE indeed were the great objects of his whole life, even to his last hour. For, in the extremity of his last sickness, when the officer of the guards approached his bed, to desire (as usual) the word of command, *Antoninus Pius* opened and then closed for ever his dying lips, with that most happy word, *TRANQUILLITAS*; that word so expressive of the happiness of his whole empire, as well as of his own good heart, at that awful hour.

N 3

O MY

* According to that noble principle of the mind of *Fenelon*.
 " Let me pray for my own welfare; but more earnestly for
 " that of my family! Let me pray for the welfare of my fa-
 " mily; but more for that of my country! Let me pray for
 " the happiness and prosperity of my country; but infinitely
 " more ardently for that of all mankind!"

O MY dear fellow-travellers, what ought to have been our thoughts, while sitting in that orange-garden at *Puteoli*, which was the very spot of the chamber where *Antoninus* died; and which so closely adjoins to the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Serapis*, erected on that occasion by *Marcus Aurelius*, as a monument of his filial affection to his blessed memory?

O MY dear young friend; you, who are so amiably earnest in adorning your father's gallery, not only with these antique busts, but also with the best pictures which you can procure, representing the noblest events of the great history of this city; on what subject more noble, or more instructive, can you employ some of your friends, the *English* painters here, than on that of *the death-bed* of *Antoninus Pius*, surrounded by the imperial family, and particularly attended by his most worthy successor, *Marcus Aurelius*? *Marcus Aurelius*, whose great ambition was

Pacatum ut regeret patriis virtutibus orbem;

Thus following that example, which indeed may be considered as the best pattern for all sovereigns, and which, if faithfully imitated, would perpetuate the happiness of mankind*.

MAY

* Such was the object of the political labours of *Phocion*, the glory of *Athens*; and in this noble work did he persevere thro' a long

Book

M

exec

But

melan

in th

Ex

this

loved

excell

refer

his fo

a long
temper,
noble an
of *Athen*
piness, a
fathers.

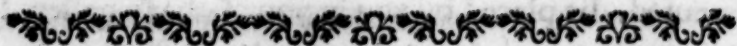
MAY such a picture, worthily designed and executed, be placed by you in your father's gallery ! But may many and many years elapse, before that melancholy and venerable scene is *really* performed in that house !

Excuse me, my dear and worthy friend, for this melancholy hint. Let us return to your beloved music, and for further particulars of the excellencies of this great and good man, let me refer you to his character, as drawn by the pen of his son, *Marcus Aurelius* himself.

N 4

CHAP.

a long life of fourscore years. When ridiculed for his pacific temper, he replied, that his government had produced the most noble and by far the most glorious trophies : *viz.* the multitudes of *Athenians*, who, during his administration, had lived in happiness, and were buried in peace in the sepulchres of their forefathers.



C H A P. VI.

THIRTY-THIRD DAY'S CONVERSATION.

AMONG the antiquities of *Rome*, there are very few of the kind which are more beautiful, than the great marble pedestal of *Antoninus's* column, on *Monte Citorio*: its sculpture is after the antient *Grecian* manner: in the bas-reliefs on one side of it are two noble figures, representing *Rome* sitting, and the *Tiber* recumbent, both looking up towards heaven, and admiring, with veneration, the spirit of that their good emperor ascending thither.

THE spirit of *Antonine* is represented as majestically borne to heaven on the full spread wings of a genius, whose figure almost exactly resembles that, in which all modern painters represent angels. This genius holds in his hands a celestial globe, round which a serpent (the emblem of eternity) is twining itself.

So, in reality, said *Crito's* pupil, (all-enraptured, as he was, in admiring this sculpture) so may the departed spirits of all such fathers of their people,
be

be wafted to the regions of eternal happiness! And, if among the blessed inhabitants of heaven, there are really any, to whose particular pious custody kingdoms and empires are committed, may *their* wings particularly be employed in thus wafting these, who were in some measure their fellow, though human, guardians of those states*! And in their ascent, may quires of other angels (more beautiful even than those which either *Correggio* or *Dominichini* ever saw in thought) surround them with all the harmony of paradise! such melodious harmony, as *Addison* imagined † to be prepared for departed spirits, on their first ascent thither, to wear out the impressions of the last agonies of death, and that still greater pain of being separated from those, who on earth were the objects of their love and care.

Μηδεν φοβηθης· Φιλια γαρ ηδε ταξις
Πτερυγων θοαις αμιλλαις
Προσεβα.

— And straight a globe
Of angels, on full sail of wing, flew nigh;
Who

* ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΗ εκηλυσαν οι Ρωμαιοι, διοτι εις το ΘΕΙΟΝ τιμη μαλιστα εφεινετο χρωμεν®· δοξη δε εμη και το ονομα το Κυρι φεροιτο αν τε πρεσβυτερον, ΠΑΤΗΡ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ καλεμει®. PAUSANIAS, lib. viii. c. 43.

† Vide that most noble of all the papers in the *Spectator* (being the Vision of *Mirzab*) N^o. 159.

*Who on their plummy vans receiv'd him soft
 From his uneasy station, and upbore,
 As on a floating couch, thro' the blithe air.
 Then in a flow'ry valley set him down
 On a green bank, and set before him spread
 A table of celestial food, divine
 Ambrosial fruits fetch't from the tree of life,
 And from the fount of life, ambrosial drink.
 — And as he fed, angelic quires
 Sung heav'nly anthems of his victory
 Over temptation, and the tempter proud.*

REPEATING these lines of *Milton*, and of *Æschylus* *, the young gentlemen walked round this pedestal; (this most beautiful monument of filial piety) and, on the opposite side of it, read the following inscription:

*Divo Antonino, Augusto, Pio; Antoninus Augustus
 (i. e. Marcus Aurelius) & Verus Augustus Filii.*

THE conversation now turned on the characters of these two sons of *Antonine*, when *Crito* informed the company, that having drawn up, in four distinct papers, the notes which he had collected

out

* From this tragedy (*The Prometheus*) of *Æschylus*, *Milton* has taken several noble hints, particularly in his *Samson Agonistes*.

out of *Cr vier*, relative to *Marcus Aurelius*; he had, in the first of these, considered and compared the characters of both these princes; and that if they pleased to make a visit this morning to their favourite neighbouring *Borghese* villa, they would there have the pleasure of seeing the two perhaps most excellent busts, which ever have been found of them. But how constant, added he, and how daily an humiliation ought it to be to me, to see such noble busts, bas-reliefs, statues, &c. of the principal persons of antient Rome, (such wonders in sculpture) when I consider that in describing the minds of the very same persons, my pen is so utterly deficient? In comparison of the chissel of these masters, my pen is quite gothic: I have indeed (added he, with a smile) the true gothic * qualities, that is, ignorance and barbarism, mixed with some admiration and love of that true antique merit, which I have not abilities enough to understand, much less to describe or imitate.

* * *

THIS proposal being agreed to, the company passed along the *Flaminian* way, by the place were
Aurelius's

* It was not the *Goths*, but the *Lombards* and *Normans*, who with so hostile a fury destroyed so many monuments of the arts and sciences of antient Italy. — The *Goths* shewed great respect and love for them. The Gothic character had indeed great goodness in it.

Aurelius's triumphal arch once stood, and, in about half an hour, arrived at the villa *Borghese*. They passed, through the great hall, immediately into the noble saloon; where, among many other antique statues and busts, their attention was immediately given to those two colossal heads, which are placed, *Aurelius's* on the right, *Verus's* on the left side of the entrance, and which are both of the richest *Grecian* marble and sculpture. If any thing else in the saloon particularly attracted their notice, it was that noble statue of a *Muse*, which is placed in a niche at the upper part of the room, opposite to a figure of *Ceres* *.

MAY we not (said *Crito*) with some probability imagine this muse to be *Clio*, the patroness of history? History, which, like sculpture, has eternized the memory of so many good, and so many bad princes; reserving the first for the admiration and imitation of all succeeding ages; a lesson set off more strongly, by the contrast of the everlasting contempt so justly attending the latter. For, as *Pliny* observes, *ut quisque factus est princeps,*
ex templo

* It is an observation of Mr. *Addison*, in his *Travels*, that *Ceres*, the most beneficent and useful of the Heathen divinities, has more statues than any other of the gods or goddesses: and in the same manner, that there are as many figures and busts of that excellent emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, as of all the rest of the emperors together; because the *Romans* had so great a veneration for his memory, that it grew into a part of their religion to preserve a statue of him in almost every private family.

exemplo fama ejus, incertum bona an mala, cæterum æterna est: non ergo perpetua principi fama, quæ invitum manet, sed bona concupiscenda est. And may not, dear sirs, this observation be applied in a proportionable degree to all young persons of high rank and birth? They must be known in the world, whether they will or no: it is in their power only to fix *how* and for *what* they shall be known.

BUT, if you please, let us take our seats round this richly inlaid marble table, on which this white *Parian* marble head of *Aurelius* is placed; and (as at present we seem to be as retired here, as yesterday, when in your apartment we were sitting round the bust of *Antonine*) let us, in reading the following paper, compare the mild and benevolent actions of this emperor, with the many marks of sweetness of temper, which are so visible in his bust.

MARCUS

MARCUS AURELIUS.

PART I.

The highest virtue placed in the highest station.

SUCH perhaps is the just idea of the character of this certainly one of the greatest of men. The history of the whole world contains not any where an example equal in all its parts to this : an evident proof, that goodness is the surest road, which great men can take to become for ever illustrious. For his history quite eclipses the glory of all the other *Cæsars*, and far outshines that of any other of the princes of antiquity : even the revered name of *Antoninus Pius* is obscured by its splendor. As to modern history, we shall not find any sovereign, who would not be highly honoured, by its being said, that he had taken the life of *Marcus Aurelius* for the model of his conduct, though he could not ever think of presuming to equal him, in the double and united glory of his goodness and greatness, of the extent of his vast dominion, or of the much more noble largeness of his heart.

THE opening of his reign presents us with a very strong and important lesson for youth, in the contrast

contrast between his most amiable character, and that of his brother *Lucius Verus*.

MARCUS AURELIUS was, by *Antoninus*, chosen as sole and single heir of the whole empire; but, by a most particular generosity, he shared it with his brother. He made his brother in every respect equal to himself; except in the sacred office of *Pontifex Maximus*; and in that preeminence, which superior age and merit must always create, even when power is equally divided. This fraternal love of *Marcus Aurelius* is a true specimen of his whole life; throughout the whole of which we shall constantly see goodness and generosity shine in every part. So constant indeed and invariable was the goodness of *Marcus Aurelius*, and such is the reverence with which the tradition of all ages has spoken of his exalted merit, that the mention of his name immediately and universally conveys the idea of the best of princes, in the same manner as that of *Cato* conveys the idea of the most patriotic, and virtuous senatorial character.

THESE two imperial brothers, *Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, did not divide the empire, (as was frequently and unhappily the case in the following reigns) but possessed and governed it together, almost in the same manner as the two consuls did, during

during the times of the republic, and as in private life, two brothers might in love and friendship together manage an estate, which they jointly possessed. For, in the beginning of their reign, they were happily united, and both with pleasure followed the example of the benevolence and beneficence of *Antonine*; *Lucius Verus* also, from a principle of gratitude, willingly considered himself rather as the first subject, and first minister of his brother, than as the associate of his throne; and seemed for some time to take great pleasure in imitating his wisdom and temperance. But the love of pleasure and idleness soon began to corrupt his heart; he soon began to sink very low beneath that illustrious example; and to become as mean, as his brother was truly glorious.

He abandoned himself to excess and vice, and consequently ruined his constitution by several distempers; during which time *Marcus Aurelius* (ever attentive to fill every duty) constantly and affectionately attended him in his sickness. By these means he recovered his health, but unhappily did not afterwards reform his conduct.

He left *Rome*, being glad perhaps to retire from the brightness of the character of *Aurelius*, whose virtues were a perpetual reproach to his vices:

vices: he settled himself at *Antioch*, and there (far distant from the advice and example of his wife and good brother) for several years continued to plunge himself in vicious pleasures, still deeper and deeper, so as at last to become universally despicable, even in the eyes of the inhabitants of that most luxurious and wicked city.

As to the *Parthian* invasion, which at that time was so formidable in the East, he totally abandoned all care of it to the ministers and generals, who (by the appointment of *Aurelius*) had followed him from *Rome* to *Asia*: scarce, at their earnest solicitations, did he twice visit the neighbouring banks of the *Euphrates*, while *Aurelius*, even from the remote regions of the western parts of *Europe*, supplied the troops in *Syria* with pay and stores, gave continual attention to all the wants and dangers of the most eastern *Asiatic* provinces, and in general directed every thing for the defence and safety of that so distant part of the empire. These princely cares were crowned with success: the *Parthians* were totally defeated. But *Aurelius* (still amiably careful of his brother's reputation) declined to accept to himself alone the honour of those important victories: on the return of *Lucius Verus* to *Rome*, the brothers both triumphed together: the goodness indeed of *Aurelius* was the most noble ornament of that magnificent spectacle; for he appeared

in his triumphal chariot, surrounded by (what was his true pleasure and pride) his young children, and by his side, in the same chariot, generously placing his degenerate brother, hoping that such goodness might have a proper effect on his mind.

Soon afterwards broke out that most dreadful pestilence, which laid waste so many and so large provinces of the *Roman* empire. The good heart of *Aurelius* felt all the miseries of his fellow creatures, and with the greatest earnestness did he exert all his industry, and pour forth all his treasures for their relief in that dismal calamity. But *Lucius Verus* in the mean time seems to have been totally sunk in vice and indolence, and totally deaf and blind to the public misery. No temper indeed of mind is more meanly selfish, or more inattentive and hard-hearted to the afflictions of others, than a spirit of voluptuousness. While his noble brother was continually exalting himself in the *sublime honour and heavenly happiness of daily doing such good*, *L. Verus* sunk to the lowest pleasures. His amusements were most foolish and frivolous; his companions the most unworthy of men; his life was full both of profusion and of meanness. Yet had he his flatterers: he grew proud, and at the same time most envious of *Aurelius*; he grew cruel, and (such is the progress of vice in the human heart) even began treasonable practices
against

against that best of brothers, as well as of men; and, who though grieved to the heart at such ingratitude, yet still was generous enough to hide and suppress all suspicions of his wickedness*. Such was *L. Verus*, when, by an apoplexy, he was suddenly cut off in the height and horror of his crimes.

* * *

CRITO was proceeding, when (some other company coming to see the palace) he was interrupted, and obliged to retire with his friends to another apartment. In the rooms through which they passed, they saw several other busts of *Aurelius*; and, coming into *the prince's* antient state-bed-chamber, they observed standing on the right side of the bed, a statue of *Grecian* white marble, winged, and of a size larger than human nature: a statue of a *Good Genius*; (*Αγαθος Δαίμων*) the same kind of figure, as that on the pedestal of *Antonine's* column, and breathing the same kind of *sober beauty, and calm majesty*.

O 2

MAY

* It was at this very time, that *Marcus Aurelius* had the humanity to send even to *Asia* for the most excellent physician then, or perhaps ever, in the world, (*Galen*) to come and assist this his brother in his distemper'd state of body.

Galen was (as he informs us himself) in vain in attendance on *L. Verus*, when that prince died.

MAY we not imagine (said one of the young gentlemen to *Crito*) such to have been the good genius, and guardian spirit, which attended *Marcus Aurelius*, and inspired him, while waking on his couch, and even in his slumbers, with meditations of goodness*? At least let us with this imagination sit down at the feet of this figure, and under such a patronage attend to the few remaining pages of your first part of *Aurelius's* character.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

PART I. continued.

FROM the horrid picture of the vices of *L. Verus*, let us with pleasure turn our view to that of the virtues of *Marcus Aurelius*: a picture, which, if worthily executed, would both in sweetness and majesty far exceed any of the paintings, with which

* Τὸτο γὰρ καὶ στερὸν ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐν βουλευμᾷ καὶ μὲν πρὸ θεοῦ χάρι. — In libro de vitâ suâ agit gratias Diis verbis multis, quod dederint tibi sapius adjumenta ad instituendam vitam sapienter, quod eripuerint se & juvenem & senem ab occasio- nibus multis peccandi.

The same amiable sentiments breathe in the Meditations of *St. Austin*, c. 35. Tu solus sis tota intentio mea, & omnis mea meditatio! Te mediter per dias sine cessatione! Te sentiam per soporem! In nocte, Te colloquatur spiritus meus; Tecum fabuletur mens mea! Lumine sanctæ visionis tuæ, illustratur cor meum, ut Te rectore, Te duce ambulem de virtute in virtutem! &c.

which even *Raphael* has adorned this or any other of the *Roman* palaces.

NATURE and education both had formed him for so great and exalted a character; for even after he had been declared heir to all the honours, riches, and power of the *Roman* empire, he retained all his former modesty and humility. He continued dutiful to his parents, affectionate to his friends, and benevolent to all. In particular, he with great diligence continued to pursue his studies, and attentively listened to all his instructors, peculiarly to *those, whose more exalted office it was to form his character and his heart* *.

SEATED on the throne, he had the glory to support the true dignity of the *senate*, by support-

O 3

ing

* How amiable is the conclusion of the first chapter of his meditations, in which he thanks heaven; that his parents and preceptors, friends and domestics were almost all of them persons of great virtue and goodness; that he never happened to disoblige or misbehave himself to any of them; that his early years were undebauched by any vice, and (by his father's care) uncorrupted by pride; and *above all*, that, by the goodness of heaven, whenever he was willing to relieve the necessities or distresses of others, he never once found his purse or coffers empty?

The truth of the observation in this last line has been joyfully experienced, and gratefully acknowledged, by many persons eminent for charity, in different ages and nations. — Vid. Notes to the life of *Borromeo* in the Appendix to this volume.

Fions nous à Dieu! On ne s'appauvrit point, en faisant l'aumône.

ing its virtue; and to give full liberty to the people in every thing, but in doing ill. He had the sublime happiness to see (notwithstanding the perpetual mixture of bad characters in courts) multitudes of his subjects, by the authority of his example, and by the wisdom of his administration, reformed from vice, or advancing in virtue. Thus did he follow the noble steps of his predecessor on the *Roman* throne, and thus did he himself become (it is hoped) the example of that royal youth, who is just now ascended on the *British*.

O MY dear pupil, how instructive did you think that part of the coronation ceremony, when the imperial sceptre of our country appeared, borne in that august procession, between the two emblems of mercy and of justice? The government of *Marcus Aurelius* was full of both those most princely virtues.

MERCY filled the very bottom of his heart, and was the basis of all his thoughts: mercy was his principal character, in his childhood, in his youth, and in all the parts of his long and most glorious reign. For, like his blessed predecessor, by a wise œconomy, he totally avoided himself all temptations to oppress his people; he defended the public treasures from the fraud and rapine of the ministers, officers, courtiers, &c. of *Rome*:

he

he severely punished all extortioners, and those inferior magistrates, who tyrannically plagued and impoverished the country. He often remitted to the public, duties which were too heavy; and, in times of great public distress, nobly condescended to sell all the rich furniture of the imperial palace, before he laid a new tax on his people. Besides his great charity in the time of the pestilence; at his own expence, he, in a famine, gave bread to the poor of all *Italy*; at his own expence, he restored the city of *Carthage*, when by a fire reduced to ashes; and rebuilt the great cities of *Smyrna*, *Nicomedia*, and *Ephesus*, when overturned and ruined by earthquakes. He shewed mercy even to criminals; nor was there a drop of blood, which warmed the heart of the meanest of his subjects, which was not dear and precious in his sight *.

Nor was justice observed and maintained by him, with less zeal and wisdom, or with less industry and exactness. In all the laws which he enacted †, his own great care and prudence was constantly assisted by the knowledge and experience

* It is in particular remarkable, that *Aurelius* greatly reformed the cruelty of the circus and of the amphitheatre, putting files in the hands of the gladiators instead of swords.

† By his laws, it is to be observed, that he took particular care of the education of minors.

rience of the most venerable magistrates; particularly of *Scævola*, the famous master of the still more famous *Papinien*. — His laws are not only remarkable in general for their justice and wisdom, but also for that modest and prudent attention which he shewed in building them always on the foundations of antient statutes and customs: instead of seeking the vain title of a legislator, by introducing into his country institutions entirely new and foreign to it.

It is also highly observable, that he made no new law, that he issued no new edict against the Christians. Very unhappily indeed we are obliged to own, (*and a strong lesson is it to us, not to be over-partial even to the institutions, &c. of our own country*) that it is said, that he left subsisting, and (for some part of his reign, and in some few parts of his vast empire) suffered to be executed several antient and bloody laws of his country against that most true and holy faith. — Let us lament, that such a man as *Aurelius* could ever be so misled by his mistaken zealous attachment to the antient laws and religion of his native land; but let us also remember, that *St. Paul* himself (that most virtuous and learned Apostle, whose statue now stands on the top of the column of this most virtuous and learned emperor here at *Rome*) from similar motives once acted in a more violent man-

ner

ner against the disciples of the LORD, breathing out threatenings, and slaughter against them, persecuting all the saints that called on the name of CHRIST, and when the blood of the first martyr Stephen was shed, stood by consenting unto his death. — Let us also reflect with pleasure, that as St. Paul afterwards became himself an apostle of JESUS CHRIST, according to the faith of GOD's elect, and the acknowledging of the truth; so also, (though in a very inferior degree) *Marcus Aurelius* seems to have been converted to the favouring of that same religion, for which in the beginning of his reign St. *Polycarp* had so nobly shed his blood. For tho' *Aurelius* never thought himself at liberty to repeal the antient laws made against the Christians, yet he utterly defeated their further execution, by his new law, which inflicted death on their accusers*.

CHAP.

* Vide Tillemont.



CHAP. VII.

THIRTY-FOURTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IN the center of the principal area of the *Capitol* is most properly placed the statue of that emperor, who was himself the *principal* glory of the whole history of *Rome*. This antique equestrian statue of *Marcus Aurelius* is so well and so universally known, that it will be needless to enter here into many particulars of its description. Both the horse and its majestic rider are of gilt brass, and larger than the common life; both seem to breathe great spirit. But the most remarkable particulars are, that on the head of the horse is placed, not the hovering victorious *Roman* eagle, but the *Athenian* bird sacred to the goddess of wisdom; and that the emperor himself is represented; not, like the equestrian figures of many other victorious princes, trampling on his slaughtered enemies;

(*Talis equos alacer media inter prælia Turnus
Fumantes sudore quatit; miserabile, cæsis
Hostibus insultans; spargit rapida ungula rores
Sanguineos, mixtâque cruor calcatur arenâ.*)

But

But without either helmet or sword, stretching forth his hand to bless his people, and pacify warring nations.

*At pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem
Nudato capite, atque suos clamore vocabat;
Quo ruitis? Quæve ista recens discordia surgit?*

The attitude indeed of the whole figure seems to bear a character of majestic and noble fortitude, but at the same time of a much greater and much more venerable genius and love for the blessed labours of beneficence, of wisdom, and of peace.

In the elegant western portico * near this statue, Crito was this day walking with his young friends; when at their desire (the place happening at that hour to be entirely free from all other company) he read to them the following continuation of his short history of this most virtuous of men as well as of princes.

MARCUS

* These elegant porticos, &c. are of the architecture of *Michael Angelo*.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

PART II.

THOUGH the blessed works of peace were infinitely most agreeable to the excellent understanding, and still more excellent heart, of *Marcus Aurelius*; yet, when the just defence of his people required a military service, he appeared with all proper dignity at the head of the armies of *Rome*. Full fifteen years indeed of his reign were employed in the sad labours of war: for in effect, he alone made the felicity of the times, in which he reigned, and which, as to other respects, were very unhappy. His dominions were laid waste, not only by earthquakes, pestilence, and famine; but by that far more destructive evil, long and almost continual wars; yet, in the midst of such misfortunes, it is very observable, that the wisdom and goodness of such a sovereign, were, under providence, (which perhaps on that account graciously placed him in those times) sufficient to make his subjects remarkably happy.

BESIDES the *Parthian* and *Egyptian* wars, the *German* or *Marcomannic* lasted almost his whole reign: in this last, as much *Roman* blood was shed,

shed, and as many *Romans* made captive, as in the long and dreadful war of *Hannibal*. The victorious *Marcomanni* advanced even to the destruction of *Rome* and *Italy* *, with all the fierceness and fury, which, in succeeding ages, made the armies of *Attila*, that scourge of God, so terrible to that same country.

How then did *Marcus Aurelius* appear? Full of all the piety, which ever warmed the breast of a *Socrates* or *Xenophon*, or of any other of the really most noble heroes of *Greece* and *Rome*, he first, by public and private humiliations and prayers, addressed himself to heaven for mercy and protection †: and then entered into all the labours and dangers

* Their invasion was on the side of *Aquileia*.

† It was during the distresses of this *Marcomannic* war, that the army of *Aurelius* was preserved by that extraordinary storm of rain, which is so noted in history, and of which the representation continues to this day the noblest part of all the ornaments on his pillar at *Rome*. Both Christian and Heathen writers speak of it as miraculous; the first describing it, as a reward of the piety of the Christian part of his army; the second, as a reward of the piety of *Aurelius* himself.

Omne Tonantis
Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.—
Laus ibi nulla ducum;

For neither soldiers nor generals could boast of any share of the great victory, its consequence.

Tum contenta polo mortalis nescia teli
Pugna fuit, &c. Vid. CLAUDIAN.

dangers of the war, with a vivacity and a perseverance the most extraordinary. Far from listening to those who counselled him to continue in ease and quiet at *Rome*, and to leave the care of the war to his generals, he resolved not to see his capital, till he had utterly reduced and defeated its enemies. (Like the *Athenian* glory, *Aristides*; *εν πολιτικοις πραος, εν πολεμοις δραστηριος*.) During five successive years, he (with *Pertinax* and *Pompeian*) continued in the field: by defeats, as well as by victories, he (like *Marcellus*) was acquiring continually still greater firmness and fortitude of mind. Though sick and advanced in years, his courage enabled him to support incredible fatigues; and his example made that hard life tolerable, and even acceptable to all his army, who most ardently loved, as well as admired this their imperial general, *verum exercituum patrem*.

THIS heavy war being at length concluded with compleat success, it was with great joy that *Aurelius* immediately turned himself to the works of universal beneficence. His *first* work was to honour the memory of those *Romans*, who, under his command, had shed their blood for their country; his *second* work was to shew mercy to its conquered enemies. The *first* work was most agreeable to him; (for, being himself full of true merit, he was naturally inclined to honour the merits

merits of others) and he executed it in the most noble manner; by erecting the statues of the most deserving in the *Forum Trajani*, the most magnificent square which ever existed in the universe. Thus, with *English* wisdom and generosity, did he honour the virtues of his subjects, in the same public manner, in which the wisdom and grateful loyalty of antient *Rome* and modern *Paris*, has in so many instances honoured the virtues of their sovereigns.

As to the *second* noble work, it is easy to imagine that *Aurelius* must have been most happy in designing and performing it. In all his other wars he constantly treated all the captives and all the conquered, with a clemency and humanity entirely contrary to the cursed cruelties of *Rome* in former ages, and nearly resembling that noble generosity of *Great Britain*, which lately fed and cloathed its *French* prisoners with so truly Christian charity. In his *Marcomannic* victory, besides tasting the usual excessive sweetness of the works of mercy, *Aurelius* had the happiness even of producing good out of evil. For with the benevolent spirit of the founder of a colony, he dispersed and planted the remains of the hostile army in different parts of the empire: where they could not occasion any danger to the state, but must necessarily produce great

great good to the *Romans*, as well as to themselves, by cultivating those lands, which lay desolate and deserted.

As to the other nations bordering on the *Roman* empire, *Aurelius* was in general always beloved and respected by them all. For his whole policy was full of true wisdom, and consequently most abounding in the spirit of moderation, and love of peace.

It is very remarkable, that, when (according to custom) his name was engraved on the triumphal arches, public monuments, and coins of the empire, attended with the new titles acquired by his victories, (such as *Germanicus*, *Marcomannicus*, *Parthicus*, *Arabicus*, &c.) *Aurelius* had the true magnanimity to add to these that other more modest but far more noble denomination of *Philosophus* *.

Most

* *Antonine* in the same manner made use of his title of *Pius*; *Trajan* (in the good part of his life) that of *Optimus*; *Aristides* in the same manner is known by that of the *Just*. — How mean, in comparison, is the vain-glory of those princes, who prefer those titles, which signify nothing but force and power, to the substantial honour of such as these, which denote real virtue? Whereas even among all the stupendous variety of all the most awful titles of the Sovereign of the universe, (though all these, particularly his omnipotence, fill us with astonishment) yet his wisdom and goodness are certainly the most adorable, and the most truly divine attributes. Vid. *Plutarch's* Reflections on the Life of *Aristides*.

MOST truly indeed did his real character answer to that name. For his private life was most remarkable for its sobriety, its temperance, its purity. These virtues, which in all other respects so well became his sanctity, were also the necessary and strong supports of the noble and continual industry of his mind in all his works, whether of *beneficence*, or of *good and useful science*. For with great pleasure did he always employ in the *second* of these works, those hours, which he had not the opportunity to employ in the *first*, and by this means also did he greatly advance the public good.

FOR by his gracious protection and love of science, his reign was adorned with great numbers of learned men, in many different branches of useful knowledge. Among these, the most celebrated, and really the most respectable character, was without doubt that of *Galen*: *Galen*, the second father of medicine, as well as the most intimate friend of *Marcus Aurelius*.

O MY dear young poetic friends, if (as you just now imagined) the character of *Aurelius* so strongly resembles that of *Aeneas*, why may not this of *Galen* be supposed to bear the same analogy to *Japis*? What pleasure would it be to you, if,

among the foundations of *Æsculapius's* temple*, in the *Insula Tiberina*, any statue or bust could (during your stay at *Rome*) be found of this great and amiable man; most amiable, if it was only on account of his having (according to *that happiest privilege of his blessed science*, I mean, *the being able to lengthen the life of the good*;) so often preserved and lengthened the life of an *Aurelius*?

BUT the favourite study of *Aurelius* being that of *moral philosophy*; and he himself having composed a work of that kind; (full of maxims, establishing the purest and noblest kind of virtue, to which human reason can of itself attain) his example was in this particularly imitated by his subjects: and his times were accordingly enlightened by numbers of most able professors in that noblest science. At the very head of these he himself is doubtless to be placed; for he, in all parts of the then known world, left monuments of his moral philosophy, not confined to fine sentiments or language, but far more nobly expressed in multitudes of real actions most beneficial to mankind.

His

* It seems remarkable, that both *Æsculapius* and *Galen* are said to have practised their blessed art and science in the same place; that is, in that renowned seat of learning, the city of *Pergamus* in *Asia*.

His reign was indeed the reign of moral philosophy*, and verified the noble sentiment of *Plato*, that nations might then hope to be happy, when a truly philosophic wisdom was seated on their throne.

* * *

ON concluding this paper, *Crito* proposed to the company to ascend the neighbouring stair-case, and view the four great marble bas-relieves placed in the small court on its first landing-place. He reminded them (of what they were informed by their learned antiquarian) that the church of St.

P 2

Luke,

* *Confucius*, in his book of *Ta Hio*, or the Great Science, judges the care of the cultivation of the minds and hearts of the people to be the *highest* and *principal* object of a good and wise government. For riches, power, &c. are far from being the greatest blessings, which can be bestowed on a nation by its sovereign: in public communities, as well as in private life, increase of true wisdom and true virtue are without doubt infinitely superior blessings to increase of wealth. — *Happy*, says *Confucius*, *happy is that country, by the prince of which nothing is esteemed valuable in comparison of goodness.* Though indeed both the bodily and spiritual welfare of his people ought to be the objects of his care. According to that noble sentiment of one of the antient monarchs of the vast *Chinese* empire, who said, *The hunger of my people is my own hunger; the wickedness of my people is my own wickedness.*

For this great object, (an object as far superior to the common cares of a sovereign, as the summit of the column of *Aurelius* is to the other noble buildings which adorn the *Campus Martius*) this *Roman* emperor seems to have been formed by nature in a most particular manner; equal at least, to any of the boasted philosophical antient monarchs of *China*, or of any other heathen region of the earth.

Luke, in the neighbouring great *Forum*, was anciently the office of the archives of the *Roman* senate; and that on rebuilding this church, and making the beautiful subterranean chapels in it, (which were made at the expence, and according to the design, of the famous *Pietro Cortona*) there were found, among the foundations, these four most noble antique bas-relieves; which were with great care removed hither.

THEY are each in height between ten and eleven feet, and in breadth near eight; the several figures in each of them are also very large.—The first shews *Marcus Aurelius* in his favourite robes of peace, receiving the care of the globe from a military figure representing *Rome*.—Another shews him in his triumph over the *Marcomanni*, passing in his Quadriga near a temple and triumphal arch: a victory standing behind his chariot with her palm and laurel crown: it is remarkable, that the chariot is ornamented with sculpture, representing the preference given by *Athens* to the olive of *Minerva* over the horse of *Neptune*.—Another shews him on horseback in his military habit; his conquered enemies (uncertain whether the *Marcomanni* or some of the inhabitants of *Asia*) kneeling at his feet, and beseeching mercy*; which he is granting

* Another marble bas-relief of the same size and subject is to be seen placed over the door of the modern palace in *Marcellus's* theatre.

ing to them in the same majestic benevolent attitude, in which he is represented in his brazen equestrian statue.—The fourth, and perhaps the most beautiful of all, is his sacrifice of thanksgiving (which he offered on this very *Capitoline* hill) to heaven for its gracious protection. In this he appears in his religious robes, offering incense before two temples, to the sound of sacred music. An office most highly pleasing to him, and exalting his own character, as well as highly resembling that of *his great and blessed progenitor, king Numa*.

In a niche near this last bas-relief, is most properly placed the statue of the muse *Urania*.



C H A P. VIII.

THIRTY-FIFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

AMIDST the vineyards and gardens which now cover the *Esquiline* hill, some few but very magnificent buildings are to be seen, particularly near the great *Lateran* obelisk. That obelisk is the highest, and most enriched with hieroglyphics of any in *Rome*: to the south of it stands the famous *Lateran* cathedral, founded by *Constantine* the Great *: to the east is one of the palaces of *Sixtus Quintus*, now made use of as an hospital for deserted children: to the west is another great hospital for the sick †: on the north side of this irregular square, are some vineyards, ornamented with many lofty arches of ruined aqueducts; and among them, the gardens of the villa *Justiniani*; somewhere near which place, the family house

* In the baptistery of this church are several great porphyry pillars (some of them still supporting part of their antient porticos) formerly belonging to the house of *Lateranus*.

† It is perhaps one of the most antient and largest hospitals in *Rome*; excepting that near *St. Peter's*, which contains a thousand beds, and is called the *Archi-hospital di Santo Spirito* in *Sassia*, being originally founded by *Ina* and *Offa*, two of the greatest kings of the *Saxon* heptarchy in *Britain*.

house and gardens of *Marcus Aurelius* were antiently situated.

In these gardens *Crito* had now sat alone near two hours, in expectation of meeting his young friends there : though their delay was scarce perceived by him, as in those solemn cut cypress walks he was surrounded on all sides by a profusion of antique statues, sculptures, and inscriptions ; (many of which were probably found in digging this very spot) especially several busts of *Aurelius*, and several altars marked with the *Antonine* ornament of the griffin *. He had besides, as a companion for his solitude, the book of meditations, great part of which *Marcus Aurelius* composed, probably in these very gardens. Warmed with the sentiments of mercy which he found in that book, *Crito* left the gardens for half an hour, and took that blessed opportunity while alone of visiting the neighbouring hospital, in the great apartments of which (it being then the sickly season of the year) he found no less than four hundred patients. As he was returning out of this hospital, he was met by his young friends, who made their excuses for having detained him so long ; though they perceived (they said) how charitably, and consequently

P 4

how

* Near these gardens was found *Aurelius's* equestrian statue, which now so adorns the *Capitol* : it stood in the *Atrium* of the *Ælian* house here.

how happily he had been employing his time. They had in the mean time been examining a collection of antique medals, and had been so fortunate as to make a purchase of several very curious coins of *Aurelius*, both in gold and silver; which they had brought with them, and of which they desired *Crito* to accept; as well as of the coins of *Antoninus Pius*, which he had seen last Sunday at their lodgings. *Crito* with the most hearty sincerity returned them many thanks; and sitting down in the *Justiniani* garden to examine the medals, found with great pleasure one among them, the reverse of which was a *victory* (the *Marcomannic* victory) crowning with laurel the emperor, who holds in his left a lance, and in his right a thunderbolt. On the reverse of another of the same emperor, appeared the manly figure of true *honour*, holding an olive-branch in its right, and in its left hand a horn of plenty.

ON a third was designed the *happiness of the empire*, with a *Caduceus* of peace in her right, and in her left a little child: (*Annius Verus*, the beloved son of *Aurelius*, whom his father, not without great resignation, lost at seven years of age.) The fourth was a very scarce gold coin, representing the *Capitoline* equestrian figure of the same most amiable prince, stretching forth his peace-making hand,

WHAT

WHAT thanks, dear gentlemen, (said *Crito*) shall I return to you for this rich, and to me on several accounts almost invaluable present? Give me leave only to say, that as often as I shall look on *Marcus Aurelius* in these fine coins, (which I hope will be frequently, very frequently) I ought also, I am sure, constantly to remember to whom I am so obliged for them. The sight of these medals will perhaps several years hence recall to my memory the happy company, with which I visited *Rome*, and the several monuments here of this equally great and good emperor. It will in particular endear to me the memory of this villa *Justiniani*: a villa, which, ever since my first arrival here, ought to have been greatly my favourite; not so much on account of the present beauty of its gardens, (for how inferior is it in that respect to many other modern *Roman* villas?) but for the sake of the academical retirement and quiet of this part of *Rome*; and still more so in respect and veneration to the memory of this truly philosophical emperor, who was even born * on this spot..

If you are so very grateful for such trifles, said one of the young gentlemen, what ought we to be for all that indefatigable daily industry, and those

* Some writers have imagined, though without foundation, that *Aurelius* was born at *Lyons* in *France*. It is generally thought that he was born in this part of *Rome*.

those most incessant kind intentions which you shew so strongly in your daily instructions to us? We all join with your pupil in returning you our heartiest thanks; and in hoping, that we shall none of us ever forget either these instructions or the instructor himself. For surely it is not the least commendable and amiable part even of the example of *Marcus Aurelius* himself, that he always paid a great regard to his preceptors, as being fully sensible of the infinite advantages of education, and of the inestimable value of those pains, which had been taken with him. How amiably does the volume of his meditations, which you have now in your hand, open with his lovely gratitude to his parents, particularly *Antoninus Pius*, and to his several preceptors, among which we have the pleasure to find the names of *Rusticus* and *Sextus Chæronensis*, the nephew of *Plutarch*? His good and noble heart took indeed the greatest pleasure in rewarding and honouring them during life, and after death in making frequent visits to their tombs with sincere affection, and there venerating their memory with the solemn offerings of sacrifices and flowers. But, dear sir, you appointed these gardens for the perusal of the third part of his history: let us sit down round this most beautifully sculptured marble urn, and give our full attention to you.

I COULD

I COULD most heartily wish, replied *Crito*, that there had been some remains left on the *Capitoline* hill, of the temple to *Compassion*, erected there by *Marcus Aurelius*, near *Camillus's* temple of *Concord*. The remains of such an edifice would have been the most proper scene for this evening's lecture. But as it is, we have at least the comfort to think that in this place we are surrounded by many modern edifices of charity. We have the comfort also of thinking ourselves in or near the gardens of *Aurelius*, and of certainly knowing that almost every spot on which he ever trod, particularly this which he so much frequented, was by him converted always into a most holy as well as most noble temple of *Mercy*.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

PART. III.

THE goodness and mercy of *Aurelius* were not only exercised constantly on common occasions; they became greater, in proportion to the greatness of their trials; and shone with particular splendor even in that perhaps the sharpest trial of all, ingratitude of friends.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS, his lieutenant governor of the *East*, was a person of great abilities; yet so blinded by ambition, as to be led by it
at

at last to the lowest degree of meanness. He became wretched enough to conspire against even the life of this his so good master, and constant generous benefactor. He began his treasons, by spreading in that distant region reports of the sickness and death of *Aurelius*; not hoping to be able by any other means to begin to shake his throne, which was so firmly founded in the hearts of all his people. He then proceeded to misrepresent all his noble wisdom and virtue; according to the usual method of such men, who for their own sakes endeavour to make goodness appear to be folly. Sometimes he owned *Aurelius* to be a well-meaning prince, but certainly a weak one: sometimes he dared to give him the ridiculous name of *philosophica anicula*. His envy and malice at last broke out in their true blackness and full horror, while he declared that he hoped soon to follow the steps of the brave *Catiline*, the rival of *Tully*, and with better success to fix his poniard in the breast of this, not emperor, but scribbler of philosophical dialogues.

How contrary was the behaviour of the truly great *Aurelius*? How sincerely willing, said he, should I be to end at once, without the effusion of any human blood, this most hateful civil war? I mean, by resigning to my enemy the weight of the imperial diadem. For may I immediately
cease

cease to be your sovereign, may even my beloved children loose all such hopes, if in reality it is for the advantage of the public, that *Aurelius* should be cut off, and *Avidius* in his stead mount his throne! But as this certainly is not the case, a war is unavoidable. The success of this war gives me not the least uneasiness. For beloved as I am by my people and by my armies, I am sure of victory: and besides, *non sic Deos coluimus, & sic vivimus, ut ille nos vinceret* *. What I most apprehend is, that some accident of war may deprive me of the happiest and noblest fruits of my victory. Yes, the happiest of my wishes are, first to conquer, and then fully to pardon this rebel; and to continue to shew myself still full of kindness to him, who has been so cruelly and so traiterously unfaithful to me. The noblest advantage which I can propose to draw from my victory, would be to terminate these public calamities in a manner that may do most honour to the name and real cause of virtue; and also be an example to all the world, that even a civil war may be concluded with general happiness.

SUCH

* *Celui qui met un frein à la fureur des flots,
Sçait aussi des méchans arrêter les complots :
Soumis avec respect, à sa volonté sainte,
Je crains Dieu, cher Abner ; & n'ai point d'autre crainte.*

RACINE *Athalie*.

at last to the lowest degree of meanness. He became wretched enough to conspire against even the life of this his so good master, and constant generous benefactor. He began his treasons, by spreading in that distant region reports of the sickness and death of *Aurelius*; not hoping to be able by any other means to begin to shake his throne, which was so firmly founded in the hearts of all his people. He then proceeded to misrepresent all his noble wisdom and virtue; according to the usual method of such men, who for their own sakes endeavour to make goodness appear to be folly. Sometimes he owned *Aurelius* to be a well-meaning prince, but certainly a weak one: sometimes he dared to give him the ridiculous name of *philosophica anicula*. His envy and malice at last broke out in their true blackness and full horror, while he declared that he hoped soon to follow the steps of the brave *Catiline*, the rival of *Tully*, and with better success to fix his poniard in the breast of this, not emperor, but scribbler of philosophical dialogues.

How contrary was the behaviour of the truly great *Aurelius*? How sincerely willing, said he, should I be to end at once, without the effusion of any human blood, this most hateful civil war? I mean, by resigning to my enemy the weight of the imperial diadem. For may I immediately
cease

cease to be your sovereign, may even my beloved children loose all such hopes, if in reality it is for the advantage of the public, that *Aurelius* should be cut off, and *Avidius* in his stead mount his throne! But as this certainly is not the case, a war is unavoidable. The success of this war gives me not the least uneasiness. For beloved as I am by my people and by my armies, I am sure of victory: and besides, *non sic Deos coluimus, & sic vivimus, ut ille nos vinceret* *. What I most apprehend is, that some accident of war may deprive me of the happiest and noblest fruits of my victory. Yes, the happiest of my wishes are, first to conquer, and then fully to pardon this rebel; and to continue to shew myself still full of kindness to him, who has been so cruelly and so traiterously unfaithful to me. The noblest advantage which I can propose to draw from my victory, would be to terminate these public calamities in a manner that may do most honour to the name and real cause of virtue; and also be an example to all the world, that even a civil war may be concluded with general happiness.

SUCH

* *Celui qui met un frein à la fureur des flots,
Sçait aussi des méchans arreter les complots :
Soumis avec respect, à sa volonté sainte,
Je crains Dieu, cher Abner ; & n'ai point d'autre crainte.*

RACINE *Athalie*.

SUCH was the magnanimity of this glory of the *Roman* throne: and such also has been the generous virtue which has adorned the best and wisest of all sovereigns of all countries, whenever the just consideration of the public safety would allow them to follow their own merciful inclinations. O my dear fellow students, and fellow travellers, how agreeable is it, in looking back on our historical studies, to recollect the several princes, who though in ages distant from each other, yet thus by *similar* virtues became the glory and blessing of their nations and times? How agreeable is it also, to view in one country the monuments and memorials of its worthies, and at the same time to recollect those which we have seen in other parts of the world erected to the honour of other *similar* heroic characters? Yesterday, while we were admiring the equestrian statue of *Aurelius* in the *Capitol*, I could not avoid thus recollecting the equestrian figure on the principal bridge of *Paris*. The whole scene indeed of that part of *Paris* rose fresh to my mind: the river *Seine*; (how similar to the narrow *Tiber*?) that bronze figure of *Henry* the Great; and near it, the lofty and elegant chapel of *Lewis*, called the *Holy*. The noblest parts of the characters of each of those truly glorious sovereigns are to be found in this of *Aurelius*.

FOR

FOR *Lewis* * was full, like him, of the most constant and most humble devotion, accompanied by all the royal virtues of beneficence and œconomy, of patience in adversities, and fortitude in labours and perils ; of the spirit of true legislation, of true political prudence in most respects, of love of exact justice, but still greater love of mercy.

HENRY

* The merit of *Lewis IX.* is so great, as to have forced the most different kinds of historians to be unanimous in his praise. *Louis IX. paraissait un prince destiné pour reformer l'Europe, — & à être en tout le modele des hommes. Sa piété, qui était celle d'un anachorete, ne lui ota aucune vertu de Roi : sa liberalité ne déroba rien à une sage œconomie. Il sut accorder une profonde politique avec une justice exacte : prudent & ferme dans les conseils ; intrepide dans les combats ; compatissant, comme s'il n'avait jamais été que malheureux. Il n' a pas donné à l'homme de porter plus loin la vertu.* (*Hist. Gen. de Voltaire, tom. i. c. 47.*) In the same manner speaks the *Englîsh* historian, *Hume* : (*vid. the Reign of Henry III.*) On the oth^r hand, by how many ecclesiastical orators, and by how many monastic biographers, is the memory of the same *St. Lewis* canonized ?

But these elogiums are certainly to be understood with proper allowances in relation to that unhappy part of the history of his dark times, the spirit of the *Croisades* against the *Mahometans* : which spirit was the child of the greatest ignorance, and the parent of the greatest misery and destruction to infinite numbers of *Christians*, as well as of *Musulmen*. Yet surely it is with compassion, not with contempt, that we are to look on the brave armies of these *Croised* heroes ; and particularly on this king of *France*, who was the greatest character that ever appeared among them. His exalted merit in other respects, and his great unhappiness in the whole of that sad affair, form a very important lesson. For how much admiration would such fortitude have deserved, if it had acted according to better informations ? And how useful is learning to mankind, in preventing the best intentions of the best of men from thus producing the most unhappy effects ?

HENRY also, like the same *Aurelius*, was full of noble sentiments, and still more abounding in good and kind actions. He was in particular remarkable for love of his people; (even of the lowest rank) for courage and patience in long wars; and above, all, for his most generous and sincere forgiveness of the duke of *Main*, and of all other his conquered enemies and rebels.

BUT to return to *Aurelius*. These were his constant sentiments as well in private discourse with his friends, as in his speeches to the senate, and his harangues to the army; and these were the only invectives that he ever uttered against *Avidius*. That ungrateful man in the mean time had received from other hands his deserved punishment; scarce had he usurped for three months his master's title, when by the treachery of such friends, as wicked men generally have, he was cut off; and all his troops, together with all the inhabitants of those eastern provinces, immediately returned with the most unanimous joy to their allegiance to their beloved *Aurelius* *.

WITH *Avidius* fell in the tumult one of his sons, and some few of his officers: and this was the only

* It is remarkable, that the Christians of the East (though persecuted) continued, during the height of *Avidius's* rebellion, most particularly faithful and loyal to *Aurelius*.

only blood that was shed in that affair. For *Marcus Aurelius* (who probably from some circumstances considered this affair as not so much of a public nature, as merely personal; and whose generous sweetness of temper no *personal* injuries ever could provoke to revenge) prevented any further bloodshed. He ordered the body of *Avidius* to be honourably interred: he pardoned all his accomplices; he granted to his children the half of his estate, (which had been confiscated) and would not receive for himself the other half, but ordered it to be paid into the public treasury. Out of the confiscation he excepted all the jewels, and these he presented to the daughters: he protected all the family, loaded them afterwards with benefits and honours, and thus became indeed the kindest guardian, and a much better father to them, than ever they had before*.

THIS goodness seemed excessive to many, particularly to the empress *Faustina*; in whose character the vices of voluptuousness and hatred, of fear and cruelty, were, according to their usual connections, united. These persons represented to *Aurelius* the necessity of severity on such occasions for his future security; but higher motives, answered

VOL. II.

Q

he,

* Vid. the *similar* celestial goodness of *Borromeo*, in his short character, which is inserted in the Appendix of this volume.

he, rule my actions. For what regards my personal safety, be not concerned. I have the happy confidence of the favour of heaven; *Dí me tuentur: Dis pietas mea, virtusque cordi est.* I have also the security of the hearts of my people: my power consisting in being beloved, and my glory in being merciful.

* * *

WITH all reverence let us now close this part of the history of *Aurelius*. May it have its due effect and full weight on the youthful minds of those who ever may peruse these papers! A forgiveness of all personal injury and ingratitude; a forgiveness without bounds, and without restriction; was (they see) the favourite virtue of this the greatest of men, that ever appeared upon earth. It was also, as they are daily taught, the favourite virtue of the greatest PERSON OR BEING, that ever descended from heaven.

CHAP.



CHAP. IX.

THIRTY-SIXTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IN the *Campo Martio*, by the side of the *Flaminian* way, stood the *Forum* of *Aurelius*; as closely adjoining to that of his father *Antonine*, as the *Forum* of *Trajan* (for the same reason of filial respect and love) was to that of *Nerva*; or the *Forum* of *Augustus* to that of *Julius Cæsar*. Of this *Forum* of *Aurelius* no part is now remaining, except the noble column which adorned its center, being erected to his memory by the gratitude of the senate and people of *Rome*. This column is entirely of white marble; and in height, including its base, one hundred and seventy-five feet; that is, within twenty feet as high as the two noble towers of *Westminster-Abbey*. The outside of its whole shaft is covered, like that of *Trajan*, with bas-reliefs, describing the history of *Aurelius* during the *Marcomannic* war. In the inside of this great pillar is a marble stair-case. While this *English* company were ascending it, (*the weather being very hot*) one of the young gentlemen could not help wishing himself at that present time to be going up to the

top of *St. Mark's* tower at *Venice*, rather than to that of any *Roman* column. How cool and refreshing, said he, did we find the prospect from thence, about this time last summer? The prospect, on one side, of the lofty range of snowy mountains on the shore; and, on the other side, of the great level of the *Adriatic* sea, quite to the utmost extent of the horizon; and all around the bottom of the tower, the several shining seas of the *Lagunes* (how beautiful, especially when the tide is high?) and all the watry streets and palaces of *Venice*, which seem to be intended for the residence of the court of *Neptune*, of *Amphitrite*, and all her *Nereids*.

MAGNIFICENT as that prospect is, replied his companion, yet which prospect would you really prefer? that of *Venice*, when in its highest maritime glory, when all its canals, lagunes, and seas were covered with rich and numerous fleets; or that of *Rome*, when this column was first erected, which indeed seems to be the *point of time of the greatest beauty and grandeur* of this capital of the world. What an appearance from hence must the *Roman Campania* (then so cultivated and adorned) have made in *this* view, which stretches quite from *Soracte* to the sea coast? And as to *Rome* itself, if the present pontifical palace on the *Quirinal* hill, makes *from hence* so noble and so grand an appearance,

pearance, what must have been the antient splendor of the *Capitol*, as well as of all those superb buildings, which so magnificently adorned the *Campus Martius* all around us?

HIS young friend answered him, that *Venice* too could boast of many works of *Palladio's* architecture. He then repeated the famous epigram of *Sannazarius* *, owning however that he thought *Sannazarius* had carried his admiration of *Venice* rather too high, and that indeed such a prospect of *Rome* during the reign of *Aurelius*, would be certainly far superior to all the *strange* magnificence of the queen of the *Adriatic*. For this reason particularly, that neither in *Paruta's* parallel between *Rome* and *Venice*, nor in any part of the *Collana* † of the *Venetian* history, could there be

Q 3

found

* *Viderat Adriacis Venetam Neptunus in undis*

Stare urbem, & toto ponere jura mari;

Nunc mihi Tarpeias, quantum vis, Jupiter, arces

Objice, & illa tui mania Martis, ait:

Si pelago Tiberim præfers, Urbem aspice utramque;

Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse Deos.

† *Collana* is the name of the general collection of all the principal *Venetian* historians. The care indeed of the history of their country is one of the best institutions of the *Venetian* state; which always has had, for several centuries past, by public appointment, some person of the highest rank and abilities in *Venice*, employed in continuing to keep up the thread or necklace (*Collana*) of it. The present doge (*Foscarini*) was thus lately historiographer of the state.

found any character in any manner equal to that of *Aurelius*, either in peace or war.

Ἀμφοτερον βασιλευς τ' αγαθος κρατερος τ' ανιχμητης.

For that emperor was himself the most glorious spectacle in all *Rome*, even when this great city was at that its highest pitch of grandeur and of glory.

GREAT as he was, said *Crito*, in his military labours, and in his victories, (so softened and so ennobled by mercy) yet his character is perhaps not unjustly thought to have been much higher in his works of peace. But unfortunately, part of his history, like part of this his column, has greatly suffered by the injuries of time. We have however, from the general veneration paid to his memory, from the universal testimony of tradition, and from the excellence of the fragments (how precious fragments!) remaining of his history, the greatest reason to judge most highly of his government in all its parts. His life, if wrote by a biographer worthy of so sublime an employment, and if preserved entire, would have done far more true honour to the memory of antient *Rome*, than all the magnificent remains which are to be seen in this city. Indeed one cannot ever speak of this most amiable man, without being sensible of a
secret

secret cordial pleasure ; nor can one read what is remaining of his history, without a kind of tender affection to his memory, and at the same time a better opinion of human nature.

BUT if you please we will now descend from this column, and adjourn from hence to my pupil's lodgings on the *Colle Hortulano* ; in his apartment we shall have an opportunity of reading the following very short paper of historical extracts, and at the same time of surveying from his neighbouring terras this column, which from thence appears the *central* ornament of all *Rome*. All *Englishmen* who visit *Rome*, generally lodge near that hill, and have from thence continually this column in their view. May the idea of him, to whose memory it was erected, never depart from their minds and hearts !

MARCUS

MARCUS AURELIUS.

PART IV.

HAVING at length compleatly settled the quiet of all *Germany*, and of all the east, *Aurelius* was so happy as to be able to bless and crown the greatest part of the remainder of his life, by an attentive protection and cultivation of the arts of peace.

FROM the motive of such public beneficence, he now stationed himself for two entire years here at *Rome*: and he compleatly filled that time with many actions of the greatest liberality, with continued labours for reforming the several abuses, (which during the late troubles had crept into the administration of public affairs) and with the wisest cares for establishing the good order of government still more and more firmly.

BUT it was not to *Rome* alone that *Aurelius* confined this his princely attention, munificence, and favour. *Athens* (which from such remote antiquity was revered as the mother of arts and sciences) continued still to be the principal seat of learning in the whole *Roman* world; and on that
noble

noble account still drew to it the inhabitants, particularly the youth, of many different and distant regions of that vast empire. *Aurelius* (who so thoroughly knew the great value of the common instructions given at such places of education, as well as of the more sublime sciences there taught) justly thought that he could not take a better method of doing good to all his subjects, than by giving all proper protection and favour to such a place. He became therefore, during this happy calm of public affairs, the patron of that glorious university. (In the same manner, as, after the pacification of all the civil wars of his miserable times, and the quieting all the invasions of the barbarous *Danes*, king *Alfred* * is said to have been to *Oxford*.)

BUSIED in such works as these, *Aurelius* now drew near that hour, when not only riches and
power,

* It ought to be observed, that *Marcus Aurelius* was indeed a very great patron and benefactor to *Athens* by establishing several wise institutions, and abundant provisions for the real support and advancement both of science and virtue in that great scene of education; but yet he cannot, in this instance, surely deserve to be placed quite in the same high rank as *Alfred* the Great: who was not only the patron and benefactor, but even the *first* and *original* founder of the *British Athens*.

The character of *Alfred* so highly deserves the admiration and praise of all *Britons*, particularly of those who are so happy as to taste the sweetness of literature, that it cannot be improper to insert some short account of some parts of it in the Appendix to this volume, especially as in many different articles it so strongly and nobly resembles this of *Marcus Aurelius*.

power, but when even science utterly fails, and piety is the only support of the human nature*.

TWENTY years had this great and good man been the blessing and honour of the world, when being taken very ill at *Vienna*, he (like another *Cyrus* †) called his friends to his bedside. His son (to whom he had been always a most loving and indulgent father, and who was then about eighteen years of age) was also present at that most moving scene.

“ My friends, said he, I see very plain the
 “ tender concern with which you are affected at
 “ my present condition. Such concern at such
 “ a spectacle is no more than what nature would
 “ inspire into any humane breast. But my long
 “ love, and (give me leave to add) my long bene-
 “ ficence to you all, encourage me with hopes
 “ that I shall receive from your gratitude some-
 “ thing more than these tears.

“ It is now, at this solemn hour that I claim
 “ that gratitude: it is now, that you can, with
 “ the

* This idea of our last hour, how nobly is it expressed in that famous ministerial monument in the choir of the *Sorbonne* College at *Paris*?

† Vide the last book of the *Kypy Παιδεία*.

“ the greatest kindness, comfort me with it : it is
 “ now, that you have it in your power to do
 “ much more good to me, than what I (with all
 “ my endeavours) have ever been able to confer
 “ on you.

“ Look, and have pity, on my son ! Have pity
 “ on him, in *this his most dangerous time of life !*
 “ Assist him by your advice and example to avoid
 “ those fatal rocks ; on which his inexperience,
 “ and the violence of his youthful passions, will
 “ otherwise certainly precipitate him. Be you his
 “ protectors, his saviours from such dismal ruin !
 “ Be you unto him many friends, and many fa-
 “ thers, in the room of that one, (a most loving
 “ one indeed) who is now casting his last looks on
 “ him ! Recall frequently to his memory those
 “ golden instructions of moderation and mildness,
 “ of humility and humanity, which I have so often
 “ laboured to engrave on his heart ! And may he,
 “ by your means, become (the kindest wish which
 “ I can form for him) the author of happiness to
 “ thousands and ten thousands of his fellow-crea-
 “ tures.”

* * *

THE time will come, when most of those who read these papers, will be called to their attendance on the death-bed of their parents. At that dreadful time, what ought to be your thoughts? what ought to be the resolutions, of those particularly among you, who have the inestimable happiness and honour of being blessed with virtuous parents? If you have really any respect, any gratitude, any love for them, ought you not (then at least) firmly to resolve to execute (in the best manner really possible to you) their last commands and counsels? Ought you not to resolve to follow their good examples, and to persevere always in doing all the good in the world, to which you can by any means contrive to extend your power, even to your own last hour too? *Usque ad ultimum vitæ suspirium, non desinamus communi bono operam dare; adjuvare singulos, opem ferre etiam inimicis.*

THE strongest family picture of virtue and vice, and their consequences, is now before your eyes in this very history.

WHY is the name of *Commodus*, even to this day, so hated and cursed, abhorred and despised? Because he was the most degenerate son of the best of fathers.

WHY

WHY is the name of *Marcus Aurelius* so loved, so revered, so adored? Because, when succeeding to his good father, *Antoninus Pius*, he formed in his great mind this most noble plan of action for the whole of his future days, viz. to study with attention, to imitate, to equal at least if not excel the virtues of his beloved father; and, like him, to chuse goodness as the *great business*, the *great pleasure and happiness*, the *great and chief honour* of his whole life.

END of Book the FIFTH.

Why is the name of William of Joyous-
reynard, recorded? Because when he
was to his grandfather, who was then
in his grey hairs, this great nobleman in
the whole of his long days, was so fond
of him, to make him equal to him in
the love of his beloved father, and like him
in the love of his grandfather, the great
nobleman, the great and the great
nobleman, the great and the great

OF THE HISTORY

OF THE HISTORY
OF THE HISTORY
OF THE HISTORY

OF THE HISTORY
OF THE HISTORY
OF THE HISTORY

OF THE HISTORY
OF THE HISTORY
OF THE HISTORY

OF THE HISTORY
OF THE HISTORY
OF THE HISTORY



H

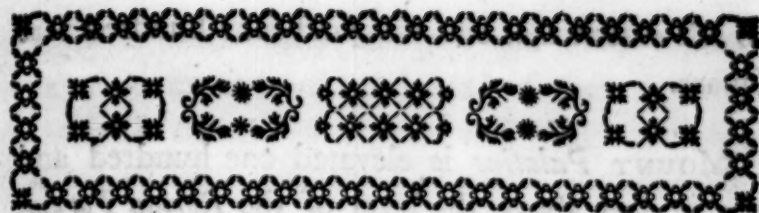
P

R

T



the
visit
tient



HISTORICAL EXERCISES:

Being some of the

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

IN THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

THIRTY-SEVENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

N the course of *Crito's* lectures, his young friends had already visited with him the northern point of the *Palatine* hill near the *Rostræ*, and its southern point near the *Hemicyclium* of *Apollo*. It was now proposed to visit the large interjacent space, which was antiently entirely covered by the imperial palace, of
no

no less extent that one thousand four hundred feet square.

MOUNT *Palatine* is elevated one hundred and twenty feet above the level of the *Roman Forum*, *Circus*, and triumphal ways which surround it. All its sides appear still so full of broken walls, and many rows of arches one above another, that the whole seems rather the ruin of one vast fabric, than a natural hill. Yet on ascending to the plain on its summit, scarce any thing is to be seen but an extent of garden ground, or rather wilderness, belonging in most part to the *Farnese* family. On digging here however, the ground constantly has been found full of busts, statues, columns, rich pavements, as well as of many subterranean apartments, such as baths, &c.

THE modern entrance of these gardens is in the very place where the grand gate of the imperial palace (called, as the *Porte* at *Constantinople*, *Sedes Imperii Romani*) antiently stood; being placed with great propriety, exactly fronting the temple of *Peace*. Immediately on entering here, you ascend first a steep slope, and then several flights of stairs, in all one hundred and two steps *; ornamented

* It was in this ascent, that *Plotina*, the wife of *Trajan*, (when first going to take possession of the imperial palace) behaved with such true majesty, as well as with so much conformity to the

namented with many antique, and some almost invaluable statues. At the head of these stairs is on the left hand a square and large arbour, (shaded by some ilex trees) in which are collected together several fragments of the antient palace: particularly many friezes and capitals of the richest *Grecian* marble and sculpture. In the midst is a large block of this same finely sculptured marble, now made use of as a table; and round it are eight of these most noble capitals, reversed, and now serving as chairs. Here the company took their seats, and perused in the *English* news papers (just then received) the birth-day ode, on the great public blessings to be hoped from the virtuous union of youth and power; an ode still more pleasing to them, as they were now very near the place where once stood the temples of *Youth*, of *Hope*, and of all the *Muses*.

AFTER the perusal of that pleasing ode, the company condescended to give their attention to the contents of the following paper.

VOL II.

R

ALEXAN-

the then so humble and modest deportment of her illustrious husband. As the empress ascended the great flight of stairs, followed by the acclamations and good wishes of an infinite concourse of the inhabitants of *Rome*, she turned herself round towards the people, and in a most gracious manner told them, that the kindest wish which they could form for her happiness, would be, "that this high exaltation of condition might not corrupt either her mind or morals; but that, whenever for the future she came out to them from this palace gate, it might be with the same heart as that with which she was now with them making her first entrance into it." *Crevier, Dio.*

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

HOW important an age is youth? even when considered in itself, without reflecting on its great influence on the following seasons of life? Youth well principled and well instructed, how universally is it beloved *? In private life, how often does the happiness of parents and families; and in a more exalted station, how often does the welfare of multitudes, and sometimes that of many and great nations, depend upon it?

THAT vast and populous empire, which during the reigns of *Antoninus* and *Aurelius* was at the very height of its glory,

*Of ample territory, wealth and power,
Civility of manners, arts and arms,
And long renown;*

MILTON.

How soon afterwards was it in all respects brought to the brink of ruin, by the vices of three young monarchs, *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, and *Eliogabalus*? The total destruction of the state was however prevented by the virtues of their successor, an
equally

* Virtue, though it may perhaps more highly deserve admiration in manhood, and reverence in old age; yet surely it is most amiable in the young. *Tutatur favor Euryalum.*

equally youthful prince, *Alexander Severus*. At his accession, how might the genius of *Rome* be imagined to be revived? and what prayers heard in its temples round this hill, as formerly on another occasion in the times of *Virgil*?

*Dii patrii Indigetes, & Romule, Vestaque mater
Quæ Tuscum Tiberim, & Romana Palatia servas!
Hunc saltem everso Juvenem succedere sæclo
Ne prohibete!*

How surprizing indeed was the history of his reign? Few sovereigns, though of the most mature wisdom, deserve to be compared to this prince, who ascended the throne at fourteen years of age, and his funeral pile (alafs!) at twenty-seven.

GREAT part indeed of the merit of the first years of his reign, (as well as the dishonour of some wrong things done at that time) are without doubt to be ascribed to his ministers and counsellors; but it is very remarkably to his honour, that as he grew in years, and his character gradually discovered itself; so proportionably did the virtue and wisdom, the goodness, fortitude, and justice of his government, still continue increasing.

THIS part of the *Roman* history is indeed full of confusion and contradiction; but the most approved writers have done justice to the character of this excellent young man. For he had a wife and noble mind, and an heart full of equity and of benevolence. With the neighbouring nations he was always most desirous of preserving peace, though most intrepid always in the greatest dangers of war *. In the government of his own dominions he discovered the same goodness, the same firmness of mind.

To his *officers and soldiers* he shewed always the greatest humanity and justice; but as the *Roman* army was at that time become in itself most undisciplined and mutinous, and most oppressive and injurious to the rest of the state, he endeavoured with great fortitude to restore the antient military discipline, and to check the pride and over-bearing insolence of the soldiery †. As to the other bodies of the state, his conduct was full of love to the
people,

* When it was prophesied of him that he should die by the sword of a barbarian, he accepted the prophecy with joy, hoping that it would be in the defence of his country.

† Unhappily that great evil was become incurable. *Alexander* fell a sacrifice to it, like another *Agis*: and it produced for above *fifty* years after *Alexander's* death, a continued scene of the greatest anarchy, confusion, and public misery. During that space of time no less than *fifty* different persons were crowned, and then deposed and murdered by the army.

people, and respect for the *senate and nobility*. From the reign of *Marcus Aurelius* to that of *Alexander*, (about forty years) scarce any thing had been seen in *Rome*, but the tyranny of the government, and profligacy of the people. Indeed *Alexander's* reign of thirteen years was by far the greatest public blessing of that *whole century*; particularly by his noble endeavours to repress those two great evils; the first by benevolence, the latter by wholesome and necessary severity. As censor, he degraded from the senate, &c. all those who had rendered themselves unworthy of their rank and station: he exercised particularly the highest severity of justice against corrupt judges, and oppressive governors *. From the posts of honour and profit he removed the unworthy possessors, and conferred them on persons of true merit. He was in particular very careful to expel from this his palace all the wicked ministers of the vices of his vile predecessor, *Eliogabalus*. He was also very zealous in the reformation of the horrible licentiousness of the *public manners* of that most corrupt age. But it is most highly to his honour,

R 3

that

* *Alexander Severus* frequently repeated with great pleasure that most just precept of Christianity, "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them*;" and it was by his express order, that this precept was engraved on many public edifices of *Rome*, (particularly in several parts of this imperial palace) and daily proclaimed in several tribunals of justice by the clerks of the courts.

that the chief instrument of that reformation, was his own example; and that of his glorious set of friends, with whom this his court was so truly adorned.

HE had that open and ardent hatred of vice, with which the love and consciousness of virtue generally inspires a young and generous breast. But his severity to the vicious never degenerated into cruelty. For he was by natural disposition very kind and beneficent; and in practice very merciful, though without weakness. His munificence was very great, and attended with equal wisdom. For he considered himself, not as the proprietor, but only as the steward of all his revenues. His judicious benevolence also *studied* the wants of mankind: so as to apply relief, where, and in what manner, it would do most good.

HE took constant care to prevent all scarcity in his capital; he gladly relieved the several provinces of the empire; (if any particular calamity had happened to any of those cities or countries) and this not only by remitting the payment of their taxes, but by real gifts and grants, such as were worthy of his imperial dignity.

HIS charity was immense to multitudes of poor and distressed individuals; but so disposed, as to encourage industry, not idleness,

By

By an exact œconomy his treasury was always full, though he had abated the taxes to a most surprizing degree *.

He enacted several laws with the mature sagacity of a patriotic legislator, and executed them with the wise constancy of an impartial magistrate.

He loved, protected, and patronized knowledge : a patronage more particularly glorious and useful in that age : when the several arts and all the literary glory of the *Roman* world were sinking so fast into ignorance and barbarism.

* * *

CRITO had read thus far, when it was proposed by one of the company to change their seats, to advance further into the garden or wilderness, and to finish the perusal of this paper in some still more retired spot. While walking thither, their conversation lasted for some time on the true glory and most happy choice of a young sovereign, who has, *instinctu divinitatis*, fixed his heart on the encouragement of the works of peace, and patronage of all the arts and sciences. From this subject

R 4

the

* In the time of the voluptuous and slothful *Heliogabalus*, the taxes were no less than thirty times higher than in this blessed reign of *Alexander Severus*.

the conversation turned on the magnificence of this antient *Roman* palace. Happy would it be, said *Crito's* pupil, if in the scheme now said to be in agitation in *England*, of erecting a new palace, care was taken to provide in it a sufficient space for such a public library, as formerly adorned this *Augustan* palace, or what now adorns the habitation of the modern sovereigns of *Rome*. For why should not the royal palace of *Great Britain*, that country which is now the principal seat of science, be in its library at least, made equal to the *Vatican*; though there are no hopes of its ever rivalling it in its paintings and in its sculptures?

If you wish for a *Vatican* library in a new *St. James's*, replied one of the young gentlemen, give me leave also to wish for such a gallery there, as the imperial one at *Florence*. I mean not so much on account of the inestimable statues and busts in it, (in such a collection indeed *England* can never hope to rival *Italy*) but for another reason.

IN the frequent morning visits which I made to that gallery, during my short stay at *Florence*, I could not help being particularly pleased with the design of its painted ceiling*, which is divided into several compartments. In each compartment

* A design how far more truly noble, than that of the proud and pompous painted gallery at *Versailles*? That *French* gallery

is represented the figure of some particular art and science, together with the figures of those *Tuscans* who have been very eminent in the study or practice of it. Thus agriculture, painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, history, eloquence, music, medicine, philosophy, political wisdom, and legislature; theology, mathematics, navigation, &c. have each their separate compartments, and are each there attended by their several great professors; as poetry by *Dante* and others, philosophy by *Galileo*, navigation by *Americus Vesputius*, &c. In viewing attentively these paintings, I could not help thinking how noble and how proper an appearance such a cieling would make in a grand gallery of the royal palace of *England*. Accordingly during a week of leisure, (in that place of leisure, *Florence* *) I amused myself by sketching out such a design on paper, adapting it as well as I could to *Great Britain*. For though in the compartments of several of the arts and sciences, particularly those of sculpture and painting, I could not find any *British* characters equal to those of which *Tuscany* boasts; yet in others I thought our country was at least equal, in some far

lery indeed does in this as well as some other respects fall infinitely short of the *Florentine* gallery: though on the other hand it must be owned, that, in regard to other circumstances, it as far surpasses it.

* The characters of the worthies in that cieling, how great a reproach are they to the idleness of youth?

far superior; for surely the genius of *Milton* and *Newton* were infinitely more divine than those of *Dante* and *Galileo*.

IN the conclusion of *Alexander Severus's* life, replied *Crito*, you will find something in some degree similar to what you propose. Happy indeed would it always be, if the furniture, paintings, and sculpture of all imperial and royal palaces, and proportionally so of all other habitations, were calculated, not merely to flatter luxury and pride, but to open the understanding, enlarge the benevolence, and mend the heart of all spectators; and particularly so of the master of the edifice. How superior is such a design to that of all other magnificence? and how much more long lived? for the memory of its blessed effects will flourish in history many ages after the palace itself is sunk in the dust.

* * *

WHILE *Crito* was saying this, the company found themselves arrived to the most silent and solitary part of the wilderness. There they entered into an uncultivated desolate enclosure, which was in length one hundred and twenty feet, in breadth ninety; in all parts over-run with nettles and many other weeds, and surrounded on all sides by some low remains of antient walls, with vast empty niches, about which multitudes of

of lizards were creeping. What this place once was, they were informed by an inscription on a piece of marble fixed in one of these moss-grown walls. *Aula Palatina Cæsarum, instructa magnificis ornamentis, peregrini marmoris columnis, porphyreticis, thebaicis, lucullanis, vicenum, tricenum duodequadragenum pedum, epistiliis, zophoris, coronis, basibus omnium elaboratissimis, additis è basaltide Æthiopico ingentibus colossis, &c.*

STRUCK with this scene of the utter mortality of the greatest human grandeur *, the company sat down on some vast broken capitals of white marble lying among the grass : and remained a considerable time silent. The silence was broke by *Crito's* pupil, who slowly repeated the following lines of *Alexander's* feast.

—*With downcast eyes the joyless monarch sat,
Revolving in his alter'd soul
The various scenes of fortune here below :
And now and then a sigh he stole,
And tears began to flow.—*

SUCH indeed, said *Crito*, must have been frequently the thoughts of the great sovereigns of
Rome,

* Such is the scene also at present in the royal apartments at *Thebes*, at *Alexandria*, at *Babylon*, at *Persepolis*. The time will also come, when the superb front of the *Louvre*, and all the other royal magnificence, which with such pomp is spread on the terrasses of *Versailles*, shall be equally no more.

Rome, even when on their imperial seat in this very hall, furrounded by all the splendor of magnificence, encompassed by crowds of attendant princes, and hearing false and flattering embassies from the most distant regions of the earth.

AFTER a short pause *Crito* proceeded again as follows.

THE principal builder of the most pompous and most expensive part of this palace was *Domitian*, who had not indeed ideas higher than those of such false glitter. You may perhaps remember *Plutarch's* short reflection on this subject *. But it will be also useful to remember, that *Domitian's* successor, the mild *Nerva*, abated the pride of this place, by writing over the gate, *Ædes Publicæ*: that *Trajan* in the first and truly glorious years of his reign, removed from hence many of the richest ornaments, and applied them to the further embellishment of the principal temple of *Rome* on the *Capitol*:

* Ο μέντοι Δουμάσας τῇ Καπέτωλιν τὴν πολυτελεστάτην, εἰ μίαν εἶδεν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Δομετιανῆς εἶναι, ἢ βασιλικήν, ἢ βαλανεῖον, ἢ παλλακίδων διαίταν, οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐπιχαρμὺν πρὸ τοῦ ἀσώτου,

οὐ φιλανθρώπων· τὴν γὰρ εἶς ἔχεις νοσὸν· χαίρης δίδυς.

Τοιοῦτον αὖ τι πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἶπεν προηχθεὶς, ὅν γε εὐσεβὴς, καὶ φιλοτιμὸς τὴν γὰρ εἶς· χαίρης οἰκοδομῶν· ὥσπερ ὁ Μίδας ἔχει, πάντα σοὶ χρυσὰ καὶ λίθινα βυλομένη γίνεσθαι.

PLUTARCHI Vita Publicolæ.

Capitol: and that *Antoninus Pius* shut up the apartments of the most extravagant luxury; and chose for his own residence, as well as for the education of *Aurelius*, the least pompous part of the whole fabric. But the most instructive lesson, which can be recalled to your memory, relative to this so famous imperial palace, is the method by which the young *Alexander Severus* so infinitely ennobled it. I mean *that awful edifice* which he erected in the midst of it; and which (if it had been executed with *wisdom* equal to the goodness with which the thought of it was first formed) would have been the most august ornament that ever stood in the palace of any of the princes of the earth. It would indeed have resembled that, which I hope we shall all see in the mansions of the heavenly house of that great Father of us all, the King of eternity, and God of all power, goodness, and wisdom.

ALEXANDER

ALEXANDER SEVERUS

Continued.

THE virtues of this wonderful young man are certainly to be attributed,

In the first place, to that natural nobleness and sweetness of character, with which Providence had so richly endowed him at his birth.

SECONDLY, To the affection and vigilant care of his parents and instructors *. These preserved his most early and tender youth from the deadly contagion of vice, even in the court of an *Helio-gabalus*. These formed and filled his growing mind with proper sciences: and with the utmost attention excluded all opportunity or inclination for idleness, that sure source of all corruption †.

THIRDLY,

* It is said, that some of these were so happy, as even to inspire him with an inclination to Christianity. Of the other parts of his princely education great care was taken by proper persons, particularly by his prime minister, *Ulpian*, the greatest character of the *Roman* law.—It is observable, that *Ulpian* was disciple of the great *Papinian*, who (in a manner most worthy of his noble profession) had sacrificed his life to his integrity under the bloody tyranny of *Caracalla*.

† Vid. beginning of the second part of *Cicero's* character.

THIRDLY, To his own happy love of study, and great progress in it. It is particularly remarked, that his studies (though unhappily mixed with some of the ignorance and heathen superstitions of that age) consisted principally in the offices of *Tully*, and in the republic of *Plato*.

BUT, fourthly, and above all, to that most noble and most exemplary method, which he prescribed to himself during his whole * life, for the continual and still higher and higher exaltation of his virtue. I mean his *daily study of great and good examples*.

THIS last part of the character of *Alexander Severus* is so peculiarly laudable, as to demand our fullest attention. For though on his accession to the throne, when the senate, assembled in the temple of *Concord*, conferred on him among other titles, the name of *Antoninus*, he had modestly refused to accept it; (*ne quæso, patres conscripti, ne me ad hanc certaminis necessitatem vocetis, ut ego cogar tanto nomini satisfacere*) yet certainly such an imitation was really his favourite study, his favourite idea of improvement. For this young prince is said to have himself wrote in verse, the lives of the good and wise emperors his predecessors. And it is remarked, that it was with particular

* *Tam diu enim discendum est, quam diu vivis.*

ticular pleasure, that he gave his attention to those poets and orators, the subjects of whose works were the praises of the good princes, or great men of antient *Rome*.

FIREd with the same great idea, he, for the public use, collected a series of the statues of the illustrious antient *Romans*, ranging them all in order in the *Forum Trajani*, (in the midst of this his capital) and inscribing on their several bases, the history and spirited elogium of their heroic actions. How glorious a spectacle must this have been? (supposing the collection to have been made with proper judgment) and how honourable and useful to any metropolis would an imitation of this be, by making a judicious choice of the most truly noble native worthies of the country?

BUT for his own daily instruction he formed another design, of the same nature indeed, but *infinitely more sublime*. For in the midst of the magnificence of this imperial palace he erected two temples; one ornamented with the statues of those *great men of every nation, whose abilities in any science has rendered their names illustrious to the world*: the other, far more sacred, filled with altars, consecrated to the memory of those exalted worthies, who, by their beneficent instructions, actions, and examples, *had done great good to mankind*:

it

it is very remarkable, that among these (though in a Pagan palace) THAT NAME was found, which is most loved, honoured, and adored by the whole Christian world.

IN these temples, before he began any other business, this excellent young man constantly and daily offered his morning sacrifices to heaven. No wonder that such a custom should produce such a blessed effect on his mind, during all the following hours of the day: no wonder that it should be so particularly recorded of him, *quòd dies nunquam transiit, quin aliquid mansuetum, aliquid civile, aliquid pium faceret* *.

VOL. II. § CHAP.

* May still more blessed effects flow from a similar method of education in another place! May the collection of good and great examples there proposed, (as mentioned in the preface to this work) for the daily studies of youth, be all still more carefully selected, and far more properly arranged than in this Palatine temple! May they be all there arranged according to their proper dignity! May they be all fitly framed and compacted together, and thus grow up into one most glorious edifice, the glory of the history of the sons of men! — JESUS CHRIST himself being (not mixed with the rest, but) the corner-stone, the foundation and the crown, the *Αἰὼς τιμῆς* of the whole!



C H A P. II.

THIRTY-EIGHTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THERE is nor perhaps in all *Europe* a greater natural curiosity of its kind, than the cascade of *Terni*, (the antient *Interamna*) situate at about the distance of one long day's journey from *Rome*. This *English* company, being very desirous of seeing it, set out from *Rome* the following afternoon: intending to travel in their coach all night, in order to avoid the heats. Their own vivacity, and *Crito's* chearful conversation, (for the goodness of his heart intitled him to the greatest continual chearfulness of temper) made the night pass away without any danger of sleep, which indeed is mortal in the *Roman Campania*. As the day broke, they found themselves ascending the hilly country, and now passed all danger. They continued their journey however an hour or two longer; during which time *Crito* pointed out to his young friends, on one hand, the situation of *Cures*, the town of *Numa*, among the *Sabine* mountains near *Otricoli*; and, on the other hand, *Narni*, the birth-place of *Nerva*: then *Collescipoli*, (*Colles Scipionis*) once the residence of the *Scipio* family;

family; and at a considerably greater distance from the road, the hills near *Rieti*, the native country of *Titus*.

ABOUT nine in the morning they arrived at *Terni*, after a most pleasant journey; the morning having been particularly cool, the breezes fresh, and a great cloud rising in the skirts of the horizon, which by its extreme blackness promised much rain. Happy sight, after so many months drought! As they entered *Terni* it began to fall in large drops, and soon poured down with great violence, *non sine montium clamore vicinæque silvæ*. For six or seven hours it continued without interruption, and in such abundance, as to surprize those who had never seen rains heavier than the showers, which so gently and frequently bedew the happy fields of *England*.

THE weather clearing up in the afternoon, the company (now refreshed from the fatigue of their journey) set out on horseback to visit the cataract. For about a mile their road lay along the banks of several swift rivulets, through pastures refreshed by the rain, and orange-gardens now most fragrant. By degrees however the scene changed: they entered a deep and narrow valley surrounded by great mountains; both mountains and valley being covered with a thick wood. Following a narrow

track among these woods, they first heard and then saw the river *Velino*, swelled by the late storm almost to an inundation, and pouring itself down from the very summit of those mountains, in a vast cataract of no less than three hundred feet in height. A cascade to which *America* itself can hardly shew a parallel.

AFTER having for near an hour viewed this astonishing scene on all sides, together with all the beautiful rainbows which so adorn it, the company sat down among the shrubs; at such a distance from the fall, as softened all its roar into a most agreeable murmur.

I REMEMBER with pleasure, said one of the young gentlemen to *Crito*, that some days past you compared the reign of *Nerva*, coming after that of *Domitian*, to a refreshing evening shower after a burning day in these hot climates. Might not one say in the same manner, that the reign of that amiable youthful prince, *Alexander Severus*, coming after those of *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, and *Heliogabalus*, is as refreshing to the reader, as these *Rosae Rura Velini* * are to the traveller, after having traversed the scorched and poisonous *Campania*? But pray which is the character which you have next selected for our instruction?

THE

* *Æneid.* 7.

THE paper, replied *Crito*, which I intended next to have submitted to your correction, relates to the life of that good old emperor, who was a native of this town of *Terni*; and who was almost of as venerable a character, even as those sovereigns (grown old like him in goodness) whose birth-places we saw in the prospect this morning, *Nerva* or *Numa* himself.

TERNI was the native place of the two *Roman* historians, *Tacitus* and *Florus*; as you observed to me, when in passing just now through the town, we saw, in the court of one of the principal houses there, the bas-reliefs of both their heads. You, gentlemen, who took such noble pleasure in viewing at *Padua* the supposed sepulchre of *Livy*, will probably find also the same pleasure here, at least in some degree: it being certain, that the sepulchre of *Tacitus* was placed, and some remains of it are perhaps still to be seen, near one of the gates of this city.

WHAT a country indeed is *Italy*? Scarce can we visit any town here, without finding it to be either the birth-place, habitation, or sepulture of one or more persons, who either in antient or modern times, have in some science or in some virtue been the admiration of the whole earth. What a continual entertainment and improvement

would it be to travellers, if they would give due attention to *this* consideration? Shutting their eyes to all the bad examples which may occur to them; but opening them to all instances of merit which are to be met with in the antient or modern history of those nations through which they pass.

BUT *Terni* was not only the place of nativity of the *historian Tacitus*, and of his descendant, the emperor *Tacitus*; they were both also *buried* here near one another. To-morrow morning, we will, if you please, search for the remains of their pyramidical sepulchres *; as *Tully* describes himself searching for the tomb of *Archimedes* near the gates of *Syracuse*. In the mean time we may make use of this present leisure and place of retirement for reading the following short paper.

TACITUS,

* Vid. *Addison's Travels*.

TACITUS, Emperor.

HOW severely was *Rome* punished by the sword of its own ambition? Their armies, which had enslaved the world, enslaved their own republic; they afterwards tore in pieces the empire also. Of all the numerous emperors, who ascended the *Roman* throne in these latter times, there was scarce one, (during a whole century) who did not leave it stained with his blood; even *those*, whose government had promised, and begun to perform, the greatest benefits to their subjects.

UNDER the first *Cæsars*, we saw frequently private merit suffering under imperial tyranny; the spectacle of these latter ages was imperial merit frequently suffering from the rebellions of the military power, and from the vices of the public. A most strong example of that great lesson, that in all stations, (whether the most private or the most exalted) Virtue must not only be perpetually indefatigable in doing good; but must also prepare herself with intrepid fortitude, for suffering evil; and for meeting *death in a good cause*, which is the crown of all her labours and honours.

AFTER having dropped a tear on the sepulchre of *Alexander Severus* *, thus happily finishing his glorious course, when in the bloom of his youthful age; let us visit with due reverence the tomb of *Tacitus*, (we are fortunately now on the very spot;

*Nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius, & ossa parentis
Adsumus)*

that venerable emperor, who in the same manner ended a long life of virtue, by falling at last a martyr to the service of his country; and who at his last hour might have the satisfaction of saying,

*Non segnis nobis, nec inutilis illa peracta est
Illa suprema dies, & laude inclusimus ævum,*

SEVENTY-FIVE years had he lived, as a subject indeed, but surrounded with all that high dignity, which flows from great opulence and authority, joined to great virtue, and great wisdom. For he was possessed of a fortune almost immense, and served the state by his counsels in the highest rank; having the first voice in the senate, and being
father

* The marble monument of *Alexander Severus* is to this day preserved in the *Capitol* at *Rome*; the vase (which contained his ashes) in the *Barberini* palace; and the winding sheet of *Asbestos* (in which they were wrapped) in the *Vatican* library.

father of the whole consular bench. In this exalted station he was uncorrupted by pride; he was remarkable for modesty and moderation: his heart was mild and benevolent; his mind was full of natural strong sense of prudence, (the mature fruit of his advanced age) and of those improvements, which are the worthy consequences of a studious life. For he had diligently applied himself to science; judging it one of the most noble ornaments of his rank and fortune, and particularly suitable to his family, as descendants of the great *Tacitus*. May this his example be imitated by all those, who have (like him) the honour to be descendants, or relations, of persons, great in the glory of literary abilities and wisdom!

SUCH was *Tacitus* when (like another *Numa*) he was called from the practice of the virtues of a subject to those of a sovereign. He was peacefully and freely elected to the throne, by the unanimous suffrage of all the armies of that vast empire, as well as by the mature judgment of the whole senate. Yet the imperial diadem was not ambitiously or joyfully accepted by him. He pleaded in excuse his age, unable to struggle with the discord and turbulence of those times: he pleaded his want of practice in military affairs; that qualification, which shone so bright in his predecessor *Aurelian* (that second *Romulus*); and which might
be

be found joined with all other virtues in the character of *Probus*; who was then in the vigour of his age, and whom therefore (on that and all other accounts) he recommended to their choice, far preferably to himself. Earnest and sincere as he was in these excuses, yet neither the senate nor the army would accept them. The whole united civil and military power of his country conjured him (in a manner that is single in the *Roman* history) to ascend the throne.

HE ascended it; with grief on quitting his former happy and quiet condition, and with full conviction of some speedy and tragical revolution. Yet did he bravely enter the imperial palace, tho' he knew what he was to expect there.

*Vestibulum ante ipsum, primoque in limine portæ
Luctus *, & ultrices posuere cubilia curæ.*

— *Mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, & Discordia demens
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.*

The innocence of *Tacitus* secured him from many and the greatest of these evils: his fortitude enabled him to front the rest.

HIS

* It is remarkable, that, even at this day, the first object on ascending the stairs of the *Palatine* hill, is that most melancholy statue of *Agrippina Claudii*, so wonderfully expressive of the deepest anguish and misery of heart.

His reign, though short, was full of intrepidity, of goodness, and of wisdom; for he considered himself, as become by his office the father of his subjects; and it is particularly remarked, that his behaviour was such, as that of the republic itself might be conceived to be, if confined in the breast of one single person. He, on his accession, immediately shewed his zeal for the preservation of good order in the state, and for the proper administration of all public affairs. He supported the authority, and encouraged the independency of the senate; he was the author of several laws favourable to the tranquility of the people. He followed the example of *Alexander Severus* in honouring the memory of good princes; and thus declared his intentions of following their great examples. (It seems indeed, on this account, worthy of observation, that both *Tacitus* and *Probus* took the name of *Marcus Aurelius*.)

TACITUS restrained the public luxury and debauchery; and with his family gave an example of the contrary virtues. Though he himself was an admirer, and a real connoisseur in the elegant works of art, yet he never, on his own account, incurred any great expences in this manner: as to what regarded public works, he was very liberal and magnificent, especially in those which appeared

peared to be of real and durable service. All such expences he willingly defrayed, not only out of the imperial treasures and revenues, but (like *Antoninus Pius*) in a very abundant degree also from his own private fortune. He continued, even when in his highest stations, to love and encourage science, though he gave the fullest necessary attention to all the other affairs of the public.

IN a reign of a very few months, he not only did, in this manner, great good to the internal state of the empire; but began also by his generals (venturing also his own person) to deliver the frontier provinces from their barbarous invaders.

THUS was he employed, when by a conspiracy among the soldiers, he was cut off, having sat on the throne only two hundred days.

HE has left however, by his example, this noble instruction to all posterity, viz. That though the most prudent method for obtaining security and tranquility of life for ourselves, is to learn to be contented with our present station, and to apprehend the cares and dangers of exaltation; yet it is always to be remembered, on the other hand, that there is no station or condition in life, (how-
ever

ever opulent, or quiet, or satisfactory) which it is not the duty of the owners to quit; when their country really calls them to active public service, and bids them exchange all their comforts and conveniencies of life for labours, for dangers, and for death. Ου. Μα τις εν Ελλαδι, Μα τις εν Ρωμῃ, Μα τις εν παση τη οικουμένη δια ταυτην την αιτιαν κινδυνευοντας και θανοντας.

CHAP.



C H A P. III.

THIRTY-NINTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IN some few days the company returned to *Rome*. As they drew near to the city, one of the young gentlemen enquired of *Crito*, what monuments there were remaining of those times of the *Roman* empire, the history of which he was now opening to them. *Crito* answered, that the greatest, and, as he believed, almost the only monument of those times were the walls of the city; the same as what they now saw before them, excepting only some repairs and alterations made in later ages. These were built in the reign of *Aurelian*, perhaps under the care of *Tacitus*, then first senator; or (if it was a military work) under that of *Probus*; who seems indeed in great part of the reign of *Aurelian*, to have been the principal person in military affairs, as *Tacitus* was in all civil authority; and who indeed afterwards succeeded both *Aurelian* and *Tacitus* in the imperial throne.

It was accordingly proposed to make the circuit of these walls, or at least of the principal part of them.

THE

THE next afternoon the company set out on horseback on this design, from the *Porta Flaminia*, or northern gate. After having rode eastward about half an hour, conversing on the simple architecture of these fortifications; how humiliating an idea, said one of the young gentlemen, does the view of these walls give us of those times of the declension of the empire? When this great city, *Terrarum domina gentiumque Roma*, was reduced to such weakness as to tremble not only for its provinces, but even for its own security; and after having for so many centuries extended its arms to the most distant regions, to be then scarce able to protect even its seven hills and *Campus Martius*, by the poor and despicable defence of this brick wall*. May many, many centuries elapse, before *Britain* ever feels the same reverse of fortune; when, instead of displaying as at present the colours of her fleets and armies, *quæ sol utrumque recurrens, aspicit oceanum*, she shall be reduced to fortify her capital and other cities, as in the ages of the *Danish* invasions.

SUCH unexpected reverses, said *Crito*, happen sometimes very suddenly; for how many such lessons
of

* Καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ εἰρημίας, καὶ ἡλικίας τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ
Εὐρείαν, μετὰ τὴν, ἐν δὲ σχολῇ κατεπείχον
Ἀλλ' ἐν' ὅς δύναται, &c.

of humiliation does the history of mankind afford? How many powerful states have in the very height of their greatest pride and most wide spread dominion, been unexpectedly brought to the brink of destruction and sudden ruin? and these not maritime powers founded on winds and waves, but states possessed of the greatest and most seemingly solid continental power.

It is very remarkable, that *Aurelian*, who extended his arms from hence to the desarts of *Palmyra*, and, under the conduct of *Probus*, into *Egypt**, was the very emperor who was obliged to raise these walls for the safety of his capital.

SUCH frequently is the weakness and instability of the greatest human grandeur, both in public and private life. For, look on the inscription on that stone which lies before that gate, by which we are now passing! Near that gate (*Porta Pincia*) stood the palace of the great *Belisarius*†, the conqueror

* The *Egyptian* obelisk, which stood in the *Circus* of *Aurelian*, and now lies before the *Barberini* palace, was brought hither probably by *Probus*.

† *Belisarius* repaired these fortifications of *Aurelian*: but being obliged to do it in haste, he made use of every building which lay near the line of these walls: thus several aqueducts and sepulchral monuments, (particularly the pyramid of *Cestius*) and even the *Amphitheatrum Castrense*, were by him incorporated, as they stand at present, in the walls of *Rome*. The whole circuit of the walls is about *fifteen miles*.

conqueror of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and of all the coasts of *Africa* from the *Nile* to the straits of *Gibraltar*. On that very stone (if perhaps the common story should be true) the same *Belisarius*, soon after, sat blind and begging his bread, even at *this his own palace gate*. The inscription on the stone is, as you see, *Dare Obolum Belisario*: — But let us not think of the instability of fortune in *private life*! *Rome* itself is lying in ruins before our eyes!

HAVING crossed the *Porta Pincia*, and several other gates, the company continued their ride on the outside of the ramparts, under the shade of the walls and square towers, to the remains of the *Castra Prætoria*; and from thence (about a mile or two further) to the ruins of the *amphitheatrum Castrense*; not without *Crito's* pupil recollecting the cruel murders of *Alexander*, *Tacitus*, and *Probus*, and applying to *these principal habitations of the Roman soldiery* those lines of *Virgil*,

*Scopulos Ithacæ, Lærtia regna,
Et terram ælricem sævi execrantur Ulyssis.*

FROM the *amphitheatrum Castrense* (which is placed near the south-east angle of the great mural enclosure of *Rome*) the walls turn westward; and with many windings stretch on quite to the *Tiber*, running through a continued scene of the greatest desolation. On this side the company crossed the

Lateran gate, and then the silent and solitary *Porta Latina*. Looking on it, *Crito* repeated these applicable lines of the *Lamentations*.

*How doth the city sit solitary?
She that was so full of people;
And so great among the nations.
Her ramparts and walls languish;
And all her gates are desolate.*

In about half a mile further, the company arrived at *Sebastians* (near the antient *Porta Capena*) or the southern gate. Here they dismounted from their horses, and entered into the vineyard of *Villa Nari*, whose walks run parallel to the walls of *Rome* for part of the way towards the *Porta Ostiensis* or *Trigemina*.

In this vineyard the famous temple of *Mars*, *extrà Muros*, is supposed to have stood; a marble having been dug up here with the following inscription, *S. P. Q. R. clivum Martis pecuniâ publicâ in planitiem redigendum curavit*. But of the edifice itself there are not the least remains.

WHILE walking here, the conversation turned on the nature and duties of a military life and character. Happy would it be, said *Crito*, if there was no occasion for any military characters at all!

Happy,

Happy, if all the works of war were throughout the whole world as entirely and eternally abolished, as this and all the other temples of *Mars* are here at *Rome* *. You remember it was the crown and conclusion of *Virgil's* wish for the glory of his country, *Ut possitis mitescant secula bellis*. *Æneid* i. But as war must happen, the next thing to be wished is that this necessary and great evil may be abated as much as possible. It would in a very considerable degree be conducive to this blessed end, if *due care* was given as to this point in the education of all young persons intended for a military profession: if they were taught continually, that besides the virtues which are plainly enjoined to that profession by their duty to their country, such as courage, industry, discipline, obedience, and study of the art of war; there are other virtues which adorn a military life in an equally high degree;

T 2

* It seems remarkable, that there is not the least vestige or scarce any memory remaining of any one of the temples dedicated in *Rome* to the abhorred name of *Mars*, of which even the *Homeric Jupiter* had such detestation.

Εχθιστὸν δὲ μὴ εἶσσι Θεῶν, οὐ Οὐρανῶν ἐχθρὸν
Αἰὲν ὑπάρχει ἐπὶ τὴν φιλίαν, πολέμῳ τε, μάχῃ τε.

It also deserves to be remembered, that it was at this very gate, (*Porta Capena*) when *Crassus* marched out to the most unjust and destructive *Parthian* war, that *Ateius* the tribune stood here in the way to hinder him; and solemnly denounced those heavy and so fatally accomplished curses on his insatiable avarice and ambition.

degree; particularly love to their own soldiers*, and goodness, at least justice, to the natives of that country which happens to be the theatre of the war. (In our passage hither thro' *Germany*, what praises and blessings did we hear of the glorious general and officers of the *British* army on both these accounts?) To these virtues must be added, on all possible occasions, mercy to the enemy. Mercy and fortitude (according to the noble observation in *Plato's* republic) ought both to enter into the composition of a true hero's heart, each in equal quantity.

How bright do the works of mercy appear amidst such foils as the actions of war? and on the whole, how happy is it, that as on one hand, wars are necessary for the correction of the world; (*bellum flagellum Dei*) so, on the other hand, that there should frequently appear, in the midst of fleets and armies, persons of the greatest sweetness and benevolence of heart? (such as the elder *Cyrus* of *Xenophon*, such as *Marcus Aurelius* †, *Cimon*, *Timoleon*,

* *Alexandre le Grand* s'étant un jour un peu arrêté derrière sa troupe au milieu d'une marche parmi des montagnes couvertes de neige, rencontra un simple soldat à qui le froid & la fatigue avoient fait perdre la connoissance. Il le prit dans ses propres bras, le rapporta lui-même à l'endroit où les autres l'attendoient avec du feu, & ne le quitta point, qu'il ne le vit parfaitement retabli.

† *Marcus Aurelius's* mercy was more to his honour, than even his great fortitude. After his victories he went himself always into the field of battle, (not with sentiments of pride, but
of

Timoleon, and Turenne) As if they were stationed by Providence in that profession, on purpose that these their most noble and truly heroic virtues might shine forth with the greatest lustre: and that the frequent interpositions of their good actions might serve to abate the miseries and horrors of war; and on the whole tend to alleviate that dreadful punishment of mankind.

BUT above all, how happy is the consideration, that *since the establishment of Christianity*, so much of the barbarous cruelties of war has been, in many and many different articles, so very greatly abated and softened, throughout almost all the regions of *Europe*? For on the conclusion of sieges, what city is now sacked, and its inhabitants sold for slaves? In the midst of campaigns, how uninterrupted is now the course of actions of civility and humanity between the officers of each army? After the most bloody battles, the wounded, even common soldiers of the enemy, are attended by the surgeons of the conquerors, with care and humanity equal to that bestowed on their own

T 3

wounded

of humanity) to bind up the wounds of those who were lying there, and preserve all those who were not passed help. He followed the fugitives even into woods and marshes, on purpose to preserve those poor wretches, encouraging them to surrender themselves and to partake of his clemency.

Trajan in the same manner, after a victory in *Dacia*, tore in pieces his imperial robes in order to supply immediately bandages for the wounded.

wounded soldiers : and as to the prisoners of war, how infinitely more mild is their modern *European* treatment, than that described in the histories of antiquity ; or than that which is to this day generally so *cruelly* practised in all the regions of *Asia*, *Africa*, and particularly *America*, where the natives are not yet converted to the merciful and blessed doctrines of Christianity?

BUT let us return to the business of the day. The next character of the *Roman* history, which was intended to be proposed to your examination, is a military one, that of *Probus*. If you please we may now sit down on this bench in the vineyard, and peruse this short paper. Let us peruse it with justice, honour, and affection to his memory ; such as was paid to him in his life time by the antient inhabitants of this and other cities of the *Roman* empire, when sitting by his protection safe under the shade of these their vines and fig-trees.

PROBUS.

P R O B U S.

PROBUS entered the world with very moderate assistance either of family or fortune: his great advancements were entirely owing to the force of his great merit.

HE was one of those most respectable characters, who after having behaved very well in youth, persevere in the same conduct during their manhood also; and during their whole life continue to move on in the straight and noble road of true merit and virtue.

IN his earliest youth he eminently distinguished himself in his profession; having in his first *German* campaigns saved the life of a relation of the emperor; and having received the honour of the civic crown, as a reward for such his bravery.

As he grew up, he signalized himself still more and more; in the campaigns in *Afric*, and in *Egypt*; and in the great war with *Zenobia*, empress of the *East*.

It is particularly remarked by his historians, that he shewed the most extraordinary fortitude in

all dangers; and at the same time great generosity to merit, even when found in the enemy. To his own soldiers he was just, compassionate, and liberal: keeping them indeed strict to their discipline; but gladly discovering and honouring every degree of merit in any of them. It is also observed, that he was very assiduous and successful in softening, in their favour, the too great severity of the emperor *Aurelian*.

DURING the following reign of *Tacitus*, he was considered as the principal military support of the state*; and after his death was unwillingly forced by the soldiery to accept himself the empire†.

IN the whole long catalogue of the sovereigns of *Rome*, there are very few to be found who deserve to be preferred to *Probus*, whether we consider the military, or the peaceful labours of his reign.

As

* Vid. *Taciti Epistola ad Probum*. — *Sciendum tibi est tuis honoris magis incubuisse rempublicam.*

† *Imperium nunquam optavi, & invito accepti. Deponere mihi rem invidiosissimam non licet. Agenda est persona, quam mihi miles imposuit.* As to the brother of *Tacitus*, who was elected and afterwards murdered by another part of the army, *Probus*, who could not prevent that, took care to save the lives of his followers; and indeed during his whole reign constantly endeavoured to spare the blood of his opponents, and to be merciful and generous to their friends and relations.

As to his military character, he was himself a very able general, and formed many of his officers (particularly *Constantius Chlorus*) to become the same. He was, even when emperor, remarkably courageous; he was constantly victorious. He defended all the frontiers of his vast empire against all invasions; and settled in security and peace all the provinces both of the *West* and of the *East*, from *Britain* even to *Ethiopia* *.

BUT his victories abated neither his moderation, nor his religious humility to heaven, nor (its companion) his benevolence to men. For it was by the works of peace still more than by the labours of war, that he became *Restitutor orbis Romani* †. He supported the authority of the senate and of the civil power: he respected the laws: he was continually labouring to make all his people happy.

HE continued, even in peace, to be good and kind to his soldiers: but as he himself was full of industry, he obliged them to follow this his example;

* So extensive then over the globe was still the splendor of the sun of the *Roman* empire; though not eternal, as fondly imagined; but even then, in the midst of that glory, *vergens ad occasum*. This note refers to one of the coins of *Probus*.

† Vid. Coins of *Probus*.

ample; and to earn *their daily pay* by *just daily labour*; such, as from the foundation of the state, the *Roman* armies had always been accustomed to.

THESE their labours he directed to the wisest purposes, and to the most beneficent works of peace*. By their means he replanted the vineyards of those provinces, which had been laid desolate by the late wars: he built bridges, and drained marshes; he made rivers navigable, and is said to have repaired and rebuilt, in five years time, above seventy cities†.

BUSIED to the last in this most glorious industry, he fell, like *Tacitus*: he fell with the universal lamentation of senate and people.

EVEN the soldiers, who murdered him, soon regretted his death; and in repentance engraved on his sepulchre this inscription, being his greatest

* Vid. the remarkable inscriptions on the *Roman* coins during the reigns of *Tacitus* and *Probus*. — *Marti Pacifico*.

† Among these his beneficent labours, one of the most amiable was his attention for making the country round his little native town near *Sirmium* more healthy and habitable. Vide the coin, with the reverse, *Siskia Probi*.

greatest praise, and their own greatest condemnation :

HIC SITUS EST IMPERATOR PROBUS,
VERE PROBUS*.

CHAP.

* The tragical and so pitied and lamented deaths of these good princes, *Alexander*, *Tacitus*, and *Probus*, have certainly not a little contributed to render their memories so amiable to all posterity. The same may be said of the most beloved monarch of modern history, *Henry the IVth of France*; who in this part of history, as well as in several both civil and military parts of his character, seems to bear a strong resemblance of this *Roman Probus*.



CHAP. IV.

FORTIETH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*Yet once more, O ye laurels ; and once more,
Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never fear,
I come to pluck your berries, &c.*

CRITO's pupil was proceeding in these lines of *Milton*, and adapting them to the subject of this day's lecture, (which was the character of *Constantius Chlorus*, the last of this long catalogue of *Roman* worthies) when he was asked by one of his young friends, whether it would not be more proper *on this spot* to make use of the ideas of the *Roman Milton* ; saying with him too-day,

Extremum hunc, O Tybri, mihi concede laborem ;

and too-morrow, (when the whole will be concluded) to take leave, and return thanks *in his words*, to all the *poetic* beings, who were ever imagined to preside over these seven hills, and over all the neighbouring woods and mountains, lakes and streams ; and who indeed (to continue the same
poetic

poetic idea) have so favourably patronized our labours, in visiting every spot of this classical region.

*Nymphæ, Laurentes nymphæ, genus amnibus unde est,
Tuque, O Tybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto
Semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis.*

As to the monuments of the memory of *Constantius*, said *Crito*, we must not search for them on the banks of any of these *Roman* streams. If in any place there are any existing, you will probably find them at home on the pleasant banks of the *Ouse*, or of some other of your chrystal *Yorkshire* rivers. Of *his times* however there is here at *Rome* a very great monument: I mean the *Thermæ* of *Dioclesian*. If you please we will now visit it. Afterwards we may very properly employ the remainder of the day in viewing the many monuments of his so famous son, *Constantine* the Great. Then, after having made this long circuit, partly in the morning, partly in the afternoon, (in the several places of which we may have an opportunity of perusing some *correspondent* parts of the following paper) we will, if you please, conclude the whole of this day's long circuit and study in the pleasant gardens of the *villa Pamphili*. For as the principal scene of the virtues of *Constantius*, especially in the latter end of his life, lay in *Britain*; so in concluding this
paper

paper in that villa, we shall have *the pleasure of fancying ourselves in some manner at home*; both from the *historical facts* which we shall be then reading; and from the *English prospects* with which we shall be then surrounded in *that place*; which, in the beautiful disposition of its plantations, and the fresh verdure of its neighbouring pastures, so particularly resembles *our own most beautiful country*. It seems indeed particularly fortunate and pleasing, that this last great *Roman* character should prove almost an *English* one; and that (after so many months examination of the history and antiquities of *Rome*) we should be *thus* led back in imagination to our own country; to that country, for the sight of which you sighed so much some days ago, when you were sitting on the turf of the *Villa Pamphili*, and examining several antient coins, the reverse of which bore the image and lovely name of *Britannia*.

CRITO's proposal being agreed to, the company got into their coach and soon arrived at the *Thermæ Diocletianæ*. This grand edifice was originally of a square form, each of its four sides being near a quarter of a mile in length: several very considerable remains of it are still to be seen; particularly the grand *Pinacotheca* or *picture-gallery*, the walls and roof of which are still entire. It is in the form of a cross, being repaired and converted into

into a church by the (then young) cardinal *Borromeo*. It is in its greatest length three hundred and sixty feet, and in its greatest breadth the same.

In it are to be seen several lofty columns of *Syenite* granite *, each of one single stone only, and measuring in circumference no less than eighteen feet. *Egypt*, said one of the young gentlemen, from the time of its conquest by *Augustus*, seems to have become not only the *granary*, but the *quarry* also of *Rome*. What multitudes of *Granite* pillars are found in every part of the ruins of this city? and some of them (these in particular) of such vast size as to make some approaches to the magnitude even of the obelisks themselves. The *Roman* emperors seem in these *Egyptian* works to have endeavoured (though in vain) to rival the antient sovereigns of *Memphis* and *Thebes*. But if you please we will now sit down for half an hour in the spacious and pleasant cloisters of this church, and peruse that part of *Crito's* paper which relates to the history of the imperial founder of this vast fabric.

AFTER

* It is remarkable, that to this day there is to be seen on the rocks near *Syene* a long inscription engraved by order of *Dioclesian*, and probably at the very time that these granite pillars were there hewing out for him. There are many granite pillars also in the palace of the same emperor at *Spalatro*.

AFTER some time passed in reading and conversing on that curious, though obscure subject, the company took leave of *Dioclesian*: and proceeded on their tour, to visit the works of the son of *Constantius*. First, the circular *Mausoleum* of his family on the *Via Nomentana*, still entire, and supported by twenty-four *Granite* columns; and near it, the camp which he formed for the new city guards, after having demolished the old *Castrum Prætorium*, (built originally by *Tiberius*) and after having disbanded the *Prætorian* garrison, which had so long tyrannized over the senate and people of *Rome*, and had murdered so many emperors. From thence they proceeded to the *Quirinal* hill, and viewed the noble situation of his *Thermæ* *: from thence they visited the *Lateran* cathedral; which was by *Constantine* from an imperial palace converted into a Christian church; and which is said to have been the first ever erected by the order of the magistrate. Near it stands that famous *Egyptian* obelisk, the most lofty of any in *Rome*, being originally one mass of *Granite* one hundred and fifteen feet in length, and erected on a pedestal near thirty feet high. This obelisk

Constantine

* Their situation was the same as that of the pontifical and *Rospigliosi* palace there at present. In these *thermæ* of *Constantine* stood the two colossal equestrian statues, which were once thought the works of *Phidias* and *Praxiteles*, and which are still entire, and give the name of *Monte Cavallo* to that *Quirinal* hill; being placed in the middle of its area.

Constantine removed from *Thebes*, intending it for the ornament of his new city, *Constantinople*; though, by one of his sons, it was brought to *Rome*.

ON viewing this obelisk, one of the young gentlemen took notice of the common observation of the great prejudice which *Constantine* is said to have done to the *Roman* empire by the building of *Constantinople*: but he was desired by *Crito*, to consider not only the bad; but, together with them, also the good consequences of that great work: for surely that work may be called great and admirable, by which the world is enriched with so great a city, the most wisely and nobly situated of any in the whole universe. Nor (if we consider things in a more partial view) was the *Roman* empire in particular so much prejudiced by it perhaps, as is imagined. For if *Constantine* thus hastened the decline of the *western* part of it, how greatly did he by it lengthen the duration of the *eastern*; which indeed lasted as many centuries after *Constantine*, as the the times of *Constantine* were after those of *Romulus*. Besides, it is very remarkable, that in this *Constantine* seems to have trod in the steps of *Dioclesian*. For *Dioclesian*, (whose strength of judgment is extolled by the enemies of *Constantine*) though he shewed his respect and affection to *Rome* by embellishing it,

with so grand an edifice as his vast *Thermæ*, yet thought it for the good of the empire in general, that the principal imperial court should then reside in the *East*. He himself resided many years at *Nicomedia*, and ennobled that city with many magnificent structures. During which time, the young *Constantine* lived in his court, and probably imbibed the reasons of this policy: a policy which he afterwards imitated, chusing a place for the eastern residence of the imperial court, in the neighbourhood of *Nicomedia*; but infinitely preferable in its situation to that or any other *Asiatic* or *European* city. Nor did *Constantine* forget *Rome*, as his *Thermæ* (almost as large as those of *Dioctlesian*) and the noble and numerous Christian churches, erected here by him and his mother *Helena**, will amply bear witness. There are certainly at *Rome* more monuments of *Constantine*, than of many ten of the lower emperors put together.

FROM the *Lateran* obelisk the company proceeded to the arch of *Constantine*, the most beautiful, grand, and entire of any at *Rome*; while they were viewing it, *Crito's* pupil observed, that, seeing these grand monuments of the memories of

Constantine

* The same empress *Helena*, by her son's authority and munificence, built the great and most sacred churches in *Palestine*; at *Nazareth*, *Bethlehem*, and mount *Calvary*.

Constantine and of *Titus* situated so near to each other, he was struck with the reflection, that perhaps these might be also almost an equally near similitude in the history of their characters, at least in one very important point.

It was visibly with real concern, (continued he, addressing himself to *Crito*) when in this neighbouring garden you favoured us with your extracts of the life of *Titus*, that you lamented the vices which so stained the former part of his life: admiring however his happiness, an happiness so great and unexpected, after such wickedness of attaining such virtue. Does not the history of *Constantine* present us with something very similar to this? Some days past I read part of his character in *Crevier*: and could not help observing the same visible real concern in that historian, when lamenting the dreadful actions of *Constantine*, which so dishonour the first years of his reign, and of his Christianity also*: comforting however himself and his reader with the history of the noble virtues which *Constantine* afterwards acquired, and which without the mixture of one vice so gloriously adorned the ten last years of his life, in a degree and kind far superior perhaps to

U 2

what

* The same may be said of *Clowis* the first Christian king of the *French*.

what *Titus* or any other heathen emperor ever attained. Grown pious and good in his private life, he became consequently highly beneficent in his public actions: particularly in his laws: these confer an honour on his memory which is far greater, more pleasing, and more durable than this his triumphal arch *, tho' now so entire after the course of above fourteen centuries. Laws favourable to agriculture and the dying arts, favourable to liberty and to the support of good morals: laws breathing great mercy to exposed infants, to orphans and widows, to debtors, slaves, prisoners, and even criminals. Nor ought we to omit (standing as we are at present at the entrance of the great amphitheatre) particularly to take notice of his law for suppressing the inhuman combats of gladiators. In these and other his institutions so full of wisdom, justice, and goodness, is it not very easy to discover strong marks of a mind converted to the *true* spirit of Christianity?

ON considering (said *Crito*) these two so different parts of *Constantine's* life and character, two important observations seem to offer themselves. First, that it is of very little advantage towards the attainment of virtue merely and barely to
profess

* It has been kept in good repair out of respect to his memory.

profess the doctrines of Christianity, except we sincerely and deeply imbibe its moral character, and make the beneficent and blessed Spirit of the GREAT FOUNDER of our religion the real spirit of our lives and actions. For as to nominal Christianity, the history of past centuries, and the daily spectacles in the world, will too much convince us, in how great a degree the blackest wickedness may dwell in the breasts of its professors.

SECONDLY, that when the spirit of real Christianity, the love of virtue, and *that noble scheme of life, the intention to please God by doing good to mankind*, has gained the affections, and settled its root in the human heart, then the effects of it are most astonishing. For the worst sinners have been by it gradually converted into true saints, and into very active (though humble) benefactors of mankind: in a scarce less miraculous manner, than at the first day of the creation, darkness was turned into light. If such are sometimes its effects, even on some who have formerly been so wicked, to what height of glory must it be able to carry those who from their youth have nobly persevered in the paths of wisdom and goodness, and have always *walked in its heavenly light*?

what *Titus* or any other heathen emperor ever attained. Grown pious and good in his private life, he became consequently highly beneficent in his public actions: particularly in his laws: these confer an honour on his memory which is far greater, more pleasing, and more durable than this his triumphal arch*, tho' now so entire after the course of above fourteen centuries. Laws favourable to agriculture and the dying arts, favourable to liberty and to the support of good morals: laws breathing great mercy to exposed infants, to orphans and widows, to debtors, slaves, prisoners, and even criminals. Nor ought we to omit (standing as we are at present at the entrance of the great amphitheatre) particularly to take notice of his law for suppressing the inhuman combats of gladiators. In these and other his institutions so full of wisdom, justice, and goodness, is it not very easy to discover strong marks of a mind converted to the *true* spirit of Christianity?

ON considering (said *Crito*) these two so different parts of *Constantine's* life and character, two important observations seem to offer themselves. First, that it is of very little advantage towards the attainment of virtue merely and barely to
profess

* It has been kept in good repair out of respect to his memory.

profess the doctrines of Christianity, except we sincerely and deeply imbibe its moral character, and make the beneficent and blessed Spirit of the GREAT FOUNDER of our religion the real spirit of our lives and actions. For as to nominal Christianity, the history of past centuries, and the daily spectacles in the world, will too much convince us, in how great a degree the blackest wickedness may dwell in the breasts of its professors.

SECONDLY, that when the spirit of real Christianity, the love of virtue, and *that noble scheme of life, the intention to please God by doing good to mankind*, has gained the affections, and settled its root in the human heart, then the effects of it are most astonishing. For the worst sinners have been by it gradually converted into true saints, and into very active (though humble) benefactors of mankind: in a scarce less miraculous manner, than at the first day of the creation, darkness was turned into light. If such are sometimes its effects, even on some who have formerly been so wicked, to what height of glory must it be able to carry those who from their youth have nobly persevered in the paths of wisdom and goodness, and have always *walked in its heavenly light*?

BUT if you please we will now visit the church of the *Apostles*, near the *Flaminian* way, and St. *Peter's* in the *Vatican*: (both of which churches were originally founded by *Constantine*) and afterwards ascend that hill behind St. *Peter's*, on which your favourite *Villa Pamphili* stands.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS.

CONSTANTIUS was descended from a very noble family in *Dardania*; (one of which, *Claudius* the Second, had sat with great renown on the throne of the *Roman* empire) yet was he far more to be esteemed for his merit, than for his nobility. He was remarkable for modesty and humanity, for the regularity of his own morals, and for the constant respect, which he consequently shewed to virtue in others.

HIS education and profession were indeed military: but he had the great happiness of forming himself in his youth, and improving himself in his manhood, under the conduct of *Probus*; and of learning from thence not only the military art, but also the infinitely superior art and science of goodness. The remainder of his days also, even to his last hour, seem to be a continued imitation of

of the life and character of the same excellent prince.

CONSTANTIUS, by his military abilities, gradually rose to the highest rank in his profession. By his industry and courage he was particularly serviceable (like his ancestor *Claudius*) in defending the state from its formidable northern invaders: and he was on that account promoted by the emperor *Dioclesian* * to a much higher office,

U 4

than

* *Dioclesian*, of whom it seems necessary to insert here some account, was a prince of very great abilities of mind, and of great virtues joined to great vices.

He was possessed of an exalted and extensive genius. He was wise in forming his designs, and active and persevering in their execution. He was careful of intrusting all the offices of the government to persons of proper merit. He knew how to make himself respected and obeyed; but was particularly desirous of acquiring the character of mildness and of clemency. He was full of economy; he was full of magnificence; (as his works at *Rome*, *Nicomedia*, and *Spalato*, so abundantly testify) he was remarkable for great political prudence, for great knowledge in military affairs, for great wisdom in civil legislation. He was generous, and highly beneficent to many parts of the empire; he was careful of them all; uniting and maintaining the whole state in the most flourishing condition, both as to the happiness of peace, and the glory of its arms. Thus was he for many years great on the throne; he was afterwards still greater in his retirement from it.

On the other hand, *Dioclesian* is said to have frequently shewed great marks of personal timidity, and most tyrannical cruelty; of luxury and avarice; of pride, of insincerity, and most impious arrogance.

These strange contrarieties in *Dioclesian's* character are probably, in great part, fictitious. (The poor remains of the history

than what was ever before bestowed by any *Roman* emperor on any general. The district of the government, thus entrusted to *Chlorus*, though only a fourth part of the empire, yet comprehended all that great tract of *Europe*, which now contains the several potent monarchies of *Spain*, *France*, and *Great Britain*, together with the *Low-Countries*, and several large provinces in *Germany*.

THUS

story of his reign consisting only in some few panegyrics, and in some satires on his memory. How difficult to discover and select the truth out of such materials ?) In part, this strange mixture of character was probably true ; and is most likely to be attributed to his great misfortune in wanting a good education, that great requisite, and true foundation of all perfect glory. For, notwithstanding his great natural strength of mind, and his remarkable and laudable application, while on the throne, in studying and imperfectly imitating that character which he found to be so universally adored among his subjects ; (I mean the character of *Marcus Aurelius*) yet still many traces remained of the darkness and vice of that barbarism, in the depth of which he had passed his early years.

The great honour of the history of *Dioclesian* is, that, after a century of confusion, of continual civil wars, rebellions and revolutions, the whole empire was perfectly united under his government during a long and quiet reign of twenty years. This he effected, not only by his own abilities, but by those of three assistants. For he instituted three, as it were, subordinate emperors under him. These he endeavoured to fix firmly to his interest, by admitting them at present to different shares of the imperial authority, and by giving them all a certain prospect of regularly succeeding to the principal and sovereign throne. He himself resided at *Nicomedia*, joining *Galerius* with himself in the government of *Greece* and of the *East*. His friend *Maximin* he appointed his colleague, and fellow-emperor for the *West* ; and with him, *Constantius Chlorus*.

THUS becoming governor, and almost sovereign of all the west of *Europe*, he became also a true shepherd of his people; and this, not only by bravely defending them from the fierce northern wolves, but still more by feeding carefully, not fleecing, his flock.

FROM *Gaul* he expelled the barbarians, (who had so often ravaged that fine country) chasing them on one side beyond the marshes of *Holland*, and on the other, beyond the banks of the *Ems* and *Weser* *. He strongly fortified the frontiers against future invasions.

How pleasing then became the scene of his dominions? in every part of which, particularly in the frontier provinces, all the ruined cities appeared rising again from their ashes, and again attracting their antient inhabitants. But it was with particular care, that he re-established the seats of learning. For, though the barbarism † of his times,

* It is to be remembered, that as *Constantius* subdued his enemies by his valour, so also that he saved multitudes of them by his mercy; following in both particulars the glorious example of *Marcus Aurelius*. For he removed the captives with their families, and planted them in different parts of his government to cultivate those very lands, which they had formerly laid desolate.

† The empire of *Rome* in these ages greatly resembled the present state of *Persia*: *Maximin* and *Galerius* were originally common

times, and the constant labours of his military profession, had prevented him from making himself any very great progress in literature, yet he knew the great value of true science, and thought it his duty, as a prince, to shew his peculiar favour to it. A letter of his to *Eumenius* is still in being, wherein he persuades him, *ut oratoriam professionem recipiat, & ad vitæ melioris studium adolescentium excolat mentes. Literas omnium fundamenta esse virtutum; continentiae, modestiae, vigilantiae, patientiae, magistras: quæ universa cum in consuetudinem tenerâ ætate venerunt, omnia deinceps officia vitæ, & ipsa, quæ diversissima videntur, militiæ atque castrorum munia, convalescunt **,

BUT surely it ought to be with peculiar pleasure that we should recollect the blessings which *Britain* in particular received from his government. Of all the illustrious *Romans*, who ever entered our island, the memory of *Constantius* certainly deserves on some very important accounts by far the highest respect: all their military glory was quite eclipsed by his mercy; and in this particular, even the great

common herdsmen, and then common soldiers; from which state they rose even to the throne, like *Kouli Kan*, &c. — The *Gothic* kings of *Italy* were not so barbarous as these *Roman* emperors: under whose reigns, notwithstanding all the magnificence of *Dioclesian*, all arts most swiftly declined.

* Vid. Opera *Eumenii*,

great *Agricola* (though during his military enterprises he neglected not the arts of peace, but introduced laws and civility among the *Britains*, teaching them to raise all the conveniencies of life, and instructing them in letters and science) yet still perhaps sinks far beneath him,

BRITAIN had for ten years groaned under the cruel tyranny of *Carausius* and *Allectus*, when by *Constantius* it was rejoined to the empire, together with all the naval power on those seas. On landing in *Britain*, he was received by our ancestors as their deliverer: he delivered indeed our country in the most honourable and happy manner, without the effusion of scarce one drop either of *Roman* or of *British* blood. He generously pardoned all the rebels: he carefully and justly reimbursed all that had suffered by the late rebellion: he re-established the laws, and settled the tranquility and happiness of the public. It is in particular remarked, that in this truly most glorious campaign he saved the city of *London* from destruction; and immediately with diligence applied himself to relieve all the inhabitants of the country from the consequences of their late miseries.

BUT in order to form a true idea of the spirit of the government of *Constantius*, we must divide it
into

into two distinct periods, and consider it in each of those different lights.

WE have already seen several instances of his abilities and of his goodness, while he continued governor of the west, under the supreme authority of *Dioclesian*. He was indeed full of paternal love and care for the happiness of the nations committed to his charge. The sweetness of his character in this station is particularly manifest from the following circumstances. When the avaricious *Dioclesian* reprehended him for not following his example of filling the imperial treasures by fresh taxes on the people, he answered the charge by an action exactly copied from *Xenophon's* history of the generous and amiable *Cyrus*; an action corroborating the many proofs of that great and most important political truth, viz. That the love and gratitude of the nation is the best and most abundant support of all government.

AGAIN, when *Dioclesian* (after having, for nineteen years out of the twenty of his reign, protected and favoured the Christians) was at last by the villany of *Galerius* led, and almost forced, contrary to the usual maxims of his government, to sign the order for that great and bloody persecution, which is the greatest stain on his memory; in

in the provinces of *Constantius*, alone of the whole empire, were the lives of the Christians as much as possible spared. For though he could not refuse to receive the edict of *Dioclesian*, nor hinder some of his officers from executing sometimes some part of it; yet in general the court of *Constantius* was an asylum of the persecuted. He even publicly honoured and rewarded the Christians, who continued faithful to their profession, and as publicly disgraced the apostates. For tho' he himself was not a Christian, yet he saw and condemned the superstitions of polytheism, and his heart and judgment both joined in abhorring the bloody scenes of persecution.

SUCH was the conduct of *Constantius*, while he continued, as it were, viceroy of *Dioclesian*. Let us in the next place consider his behaviour after that great change of the scene, when *Dioclesian* and *Maximin* were forced to resign their imperial power. They were forced to it by the ingratitude and perfidy of *Galerius*, a traitor with whom *Constantius* had never any connection.

ACCORDING to the constitution settled by *Dioclesian*, *Constantius* was now become real sovereign and emperor of the *West*. He could now freely and fully execute that noble plan of action, to which his great wisdom and goodness had directed him:

him: his excellent character both of mind and heart could now openly disclose itself in all its beauty and glory. Accordingly the persecution instantly and entirely ceased; and all the other affairs of the government were directly put in such a train, as to give the greatest prospect of happiness to all his subjects.

It is most highly remarkable, that notwithstanding the contradictions of the historians of that age, in relation to all the other great characters of it; yet both Christian and Pagan writers all unanimously agree in their elogiums on the most amiable character of *Constantius*. The virtues in which he eminently excelled, were (in his private temper) temperance, benevolence, humility, affability; and (more in relation to the public) love of tranquillity, and love of peace: he was particularly desirous that all his subjects should be made easy in their several conditions, and justly esteemed himself far more opulent by the riches which they possessed, than by any treasures which he could amass in his own coffers.

SUPERIOR in these virtues to the luxury and arrogance of *Dioclesian*, as well as to the oppressive and mean tyranny of *Galerius*, he was superior also to them in fortune. For as his conduct was directed by maxims different from those which influenced

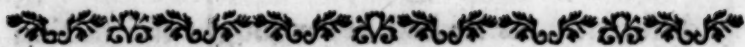
influenced those sovereigns, so also was his fortune very different. As he had never sought satisfaction to himself by abusing any of the powers entrusted to him either by God or man, over his subjects; so also his family was not ruined by the treachery of those in whom he himself had trusted. As long as he lived, the gratitude and love of his people were his sure guard against the plots of *Galerius*, and of all his other enemies: and in dying, he was by the same means enabled to leave his son, *Constantine* the Great, successor to his imperial diadem.

THIS last and perhaps the best of the Pagan *Roman* emperors finished in *Britain* his beneficent reign. He died at *York* July 5, A.D. 306. In the same country his son (of whom posterity has and will continue so long to speak) began his government.

Voto finiendum sit Volumen.

MAY that same country, and the neighbouring regions, be always blessed and honoured by sovereigns of the goodness of *Constantius*, and (what ought most highly to encrease that goodness) of the religion of *Constantine*! Such sovereigns, as may be in reality the *Fathers of their people*, as well as by their titles, the *Most Christian* or *Most Catholic* kings, and *Defenders of the Faith*!

C H A P.



C H A P. V.

FORTY-FIRST DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THOUGH *Crito* had now finished his course of *Roman* biography, yet as the company intended to stay at *Rome* some few days longer, he was very willing to make diligent use of that opportunity of visiting with them now for the last time the great and principal monuments of antiquity, which they had so often already viewed, but with much rather an increase than abatement of curiosity and admiration. Having in particular already surveyed the great amphitheatre much more frequently than an hundred times by day-light, it was now proposed to make a night-visit to it, especially as the moon being now at the full would display that most superb work of architecture to the highest advantage.

It was accordingly near midnight, when they came to visit it. On their way thither they passed under the shade of the *Capitol*, and crossed the great *Forum*; not without *Crito's* pupil casting a melancholy look on the august scene which there surrounded them, and which after this week he
never

never could hope to see again. Fixing his eyes particularly on the *Clivus Capitolinus*, where Ovid's house once stood, he repeated with proper action the following lines.

*Jamque quiescebant voces hominumque canumque,
Lunaque nocturnos alta regebat equos,
Hanc ego suspiciens, & adhuc Capitolia cernens
Quæ nostro frustra juncta fuere lari,
Numina vicinis habitantia sedibus, inquam,
Jamque oculis nunquam templa videnda meis,
Dique relinquendi, quos urbs habet alta Quirini,
Este salutati tempus in omne mihi.*

De Tristibus, eleg. 3, lib i.

Saying this, he turned from the *Capitol*; and slowly followed his companions along the low elm walk, which has on its right hand the ruins of the *Rostra*, the columns of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, and the entrance into the imperial palace; and on its left, the three temples of *Saturn*, of *Antoninus*, and of *Romulus* and *Remus*; then the little chapel * of the *Pontifex Maximus*; and lastly,

VOL. II.

X

the

* Two columns of the gate of this chapel are still remaining, though above half buried in the earth. It was from this chapel, and between these two pillars, it is said, that *Julius Cæsar* went out to the senate, the morning on which he was killed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

the broad arches of the great temple of *Peace*. At the end of this mean plantation stands the magnificent arch of *Titus*. *Crito* never had passed by it without stopping : for surely, among all the monuments of antient history, there is none so affecting as this, especially to a clergyman. It was indeed with the greatest veneration that *Crito* stopt now again to view all the holy ornaments of the temple of *Jerusalem*, here so richly engraved ; the table of shew bread, the silver trumpets, and golden candlestick, as well as the tablets of the Mosaic law.

IF *Crito* had been alone, he would probably have sat down *here* absorpt in meditation, nor thought of visiting any other antiquity that night. But as he was engaged in company, he walked on with them ; intending however on the next Sunday afternoon, (as they were all to leave *Rome* on Monday morning) to come hither alone, and fully to indulge here in solitude his thoughts on this truly solemn and most sublime subject.

HAVING passed the arch of *Titus*, the company immediately entered into another noble field of *Roman* grandeur, still more desolate. On their left was the concave double temple of the sun and moon ; on their right the arch of *Constantine* ; and in front the

the stupendous amphitheatre, in length six hundred and thirty-seven feet, in breadth five hundred and twenty-five, and whose four rows of *Doric* and *Ionic*, *Corinthian* and *Composite* columns still rise to the height of one hundred and fifty feet: the noblest ruin in the whole universe.

ON entering its arena, they were struck now more than ever at the august solemnity and deep silence of this prodigious scene of desolation; in which no sound was now to be heard but the shrill cry of the grasshoppers, and sometimes a stone falling from the top of one of the multitude of broken arches. How different from its appearance, when the imperial court, senate, and nobility of *Rome* were here assembled, surrounded by more than one hundred thousand other spectators, for eighty-seven thousand of whom there were here sufficient seats.

O FOR some magic wand *at this magic hour*, said one of the young gentlemen, to raise a vision of the antient splendor of this place, and to shew by this moon-light all these slopes filled with the forms of the antient spectators, in the habits of their times! As great a number of *Roman* ghosts, as *Æneas* saw on the banks of *Lethe*.

THE wildness and solemnity of this thought, seemed to strike his young friends with a kind of pleasing horror. They remained silent a while, when *Crito's* pupil walking on a little further, and then casting his eyes round the vast circle, in the center of which they now stood, how strong a similitude, said he, is there between that airy unsubstantial vision, for which you are wishing, and the shew of real grandeur which was antiently so splendid in this place, but which also is now passed away as a shadow, and vanished like any dream? How must many successive *Roman* emperors, when seated here on their chair of state, frequently have recollected the reflection of *Xerxes*, and been deeply struck with the thought of the brevity of their own grandeur, as well as of the lives of the whole vast assembly with which they were here incircled*? Yet some few years, and our own age too will pass away, and with all its present pride of pomp and beauty, vanish like the many ages that have preceded it.

Oudev

* The emperor *Titus*, when seated for the last time in this his amphitheatre, *spectaculis absolutis, in eorum sine, coram populo ubertim fleuit.* Suetonius gives no account of the reason of this extraordinary sorrow. But, if we consider the tenderness of the benevolent heart of *Titus*, and the lowness of his spirits at that time, being then very declining, and approaching (within some few days) to his last hour; perhaps it may not seem improbable, that some humane sentiments (similar to those of *Xerxes*) were the source of those tears.

Οὐδεν το κεινων μαλλον, η τ'εμον σκοπων

Ορω γαρ ημας εδεν οντας αλλο, πλην

Ειδωλ', οσοι περ ζωμεν, η κερην σκιαν.

SOPHOCLES *Ajax*.

BUT, if you please, I will now knock at the door of this hermit's cell, who on this senatorial *Podium* has built here his little chapel, and on the slope of the equestrian seats formed these his little gardens, in which I have so often had the pleasure of sitting with *Crito*, attending to his reflections, as well as reading the antient descriptions of this place. If the hermit is awake, we will borrow his candle, which will be of service to us in ascending some of the dark passages of this mountain of ruins.

HAVING passed through the chapel and cell, the company, under the guidance of the hermit, proceeded along several vaults, and then among vast fragments of ruins to the steep ascent, which leads up to the magnificent circular gallery or portico. Having with some difficulty clambered up thither, they were afresh struck with the beauty of this stupendous fabric, over which the moon had now spread so soft and smooth a light, casting the whole into great quantities of light and shade, and

at the same time increasing in a very surprizing degree the appearance of its vastness. They were struck however still more in considering the *real* greatness, both of its vast bulk and body, and still more of the *manner* in which it is built. Indeed on both these accounts it is with much less exaggeration than usual that *Martial* prefers *banc venerabilem Amphitheatri molem* to the wonders even of *Babylon* and *Egypt*.

Barbara Pyramidum fileat miracula Memphis,

Affiduus jactet nec Babylona labor, &c.*

Omnis Casareo cedat labor Amphitheatro;

Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus.

I SAT an hour or two, said one of the young gentlemen, some few mornings ago in this very gallery, reading that treatise on the pleasures of the imagination, in which *Addison* observes, that among all the figures of architecture, there are none that have a greater air than the concave and convex; round pillars and vaulted roofs making a great part of all those buildings which are designed for pomp and magnificence. I could not help thinking this observation particularly applicable

* Perhaps instead of *Affiduus*, *Assyrius* might be here more properly read.

cable to this noble edifice, which *Addison* in his travels hither so much admired. For, not to take notice of these vaulted roofs, nor of the columns of all the four orders, by which the exterior of the whole fabric is encircled, how magnificently is it supported by so many hundred arches? and how nobly furrounded by these double galleries, these superb circular porticos? How grand is the orbicular, or rather (what is more beautiful) the spherical form of the whole, both exterior and interior; and how resembling the most august fabric even of the amphitheatre of the solar system?

As to the architecture of this noble edifice, said *Crito*, I wish I understood enough of that science to enable me properly to taste its beauties. As to its architect, I was greatly pleased with the late probable discovery both of his name and history *. *Gaudentius*, a *Roman*, who after having built this amphitheatre, was converted to the Christian faith, and fell a martyr to it (perhaps in this very arena) in the reign of *Domitian*. The inscription on his sepulchral marble, if I remember right, begins thus,

• Vide *Abate Venuti's* excellent treatise on the Antiquities of Rome. — This sepulchral marble is fixed in the wall of one of the passages to the subterranean chapels of St. Luke's church in the great Forum. By the word, *Vespasian*, is meant *Domitian*, who (like many other better princes) took his father's name.

thus, *Sic præmia servas, Vespasiane dire*; and concludes in something of the following manner, *Lætare, Gaudenti! Servo suo Christus paravit aliud theatrum in cælo.*

How far more noble a *theatre* indeed than this? (*continued Crito, with particular warmth both of heart and expression.*) For, how much more glorious a company is *there* assembled? Not an imperial court, senate, and nobility, such as of *Rome*, in whose transitory grandeur so much wickedness was often mixed; not the officers of the cruel and debauched *Roman* army; not thousands of the inhabitants of this proud city, mixed with the natives (frequently the dregs) of other regions, seated as here, circle within circle, thus filling the whole vessel of this amphitheatre (the circuit of which is more than 1750 feet) up to the very brim, assisting with diabolical pleasure at the cursed spectacles which were performed here with such infernal wickedness and cruelty: But the inhabitants of the city of eternal peace and love; but the whole glorious senate of apostles and prophets, the noble and triumphant army of martyrs, (*several of whom poured forth their blood on this very arena*) and a great multitude, which no man can number, of all people and tongues, the assembly of all holy and humble men of heart, the assembly of all just men now made perfect, and
covered

covered and crowned with everlasting glory, as numerous and glorious a company as *the starry host now over our heads* *. Add to these in *Milton's* words,

*Thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers,
The sanctities of heaven — where in orbs
Of circuit inexpressible they stand,
Orb within orb.*

AFTER some pause, *Crito* proceeded as follows.

To a truly great mind how much more pleasing an object is this amphitheatre, now in its present state of ruin and desolation (presenting one of the strongest and most awful lessons of the mortality of all human grandeur) than as formerly when in the height of its pomp, and filled with such scenes of wickedness and cruelty? But how noble must have been here the ideas of the *poetical* and *philosophic* minds of *Milton* and *Addison*, the two greatest men of our country who ever visited this place? The long history of *Rome* must surely have appeared to them in the strongest light, as well as in the greatest dignity, while surveying the various antiquities

* The appearance of the heavens in a star-light night is very particularly striking and magnificent, when viewed from the center of the great arena of this *Amphitheatre*.

antiquities of this city: and all its great events and characters must have passed in review before their minds with almost as much solemnity, as the visions of *Adam* on the hills of *Eden* *. But what a fund of happiness, what a source of magnanimity must *they* have found here in their far more favourite contemplations of reaching forwards into futurity †, and bringing up to their thoughts objects much more noble and exalted, and which never will have an end, not only when cities and empires, but even when the heaven and the earth shall be no more? Objects, which (if preserved faithfully in their minds) must have given the greatest serenity and cheering vital heat to their souls, making pain easy, and labour pleasant, and sweetening every part, not only of their travels in these regions, but of their whole journey and pilgrimage here on earth.

IN conversing thus, the company were now ascended to the highest part of the ruins, on a sloping spot of which, now overgrown with grass, *Crito* sat down: and after having for some time admired the whole desolate amphitheatre, and its oval arena now beneath them, he borrowed the

German

* Vide *Paradise Lost*, the two last books.

† *Spectator*, N. 47.

German flute of one of his young friends, and on it performed several sweet and most solemn airs; which were rendered still more sweet and solemn by the stillness of that place and hour. The company gave to him the most willing attention: his pupil in particular; who with pleasure observed, that such harmony performed by such a person, in such a place, and after a course of such lectures, strongly recalled to his memory *Addison's* description of that genius, who shewed to *Mirza* from the *Babylonian* hills the vision of the vale of time, and of the few broken arches of the bridge of human life, surrounded by the vast ocean of eternity: calming at the same time his mind with several airs of the most inexpressibly melodious and celestial harmony, such as wholly to captivate his heart, and melt it away in secret raptures.

O MY dear pupil! (replied *Crito*) the eloquence of such philosophy as that of *Addison* or *Milton* wants not the additional sweetness of any harmony: its own *nectared sweetness* is fully sufficient. How happy should I be, if I could, in like manner*, *conduct you and point out to you the right path of a virtuous and noble education: laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green,*
so

* Vid. *Milton's* Treatise on Education.

so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming.

BUT as to what I have done, I am very far from deserving any such compliments or thanks. What I have done, in endeavouring to lay before your consideration some of the characters of the history of this great city, is not only very faulty and deficient in itself, but also falls very short even of my own poor intentions. A few days ago, after taking a solitary walk in this arena, on my return home I employed the remainder of the evening in drawing up *this following paper*, being an account of some, among many, of my defects in *this my too great undertaking*. If you will please to hold the hermit's candle, I will now read to you this short appendix of our *Roman studies*: premising only, that I have some hopes, if my pupil can obtain leave from home to make his intended tour of *Greece* and of its colonies, to endeavour to follow *there also* something of the *same* happy kind of employment. For, how happy will it be for us to recollect the characters of *Timoleon*, and of *Hiero*, while visiting the ruins of *Syracuse*; and those of *Cimon*, *Aristides*, and *Phocion*, while walking among the temples and olive groves of *Athens*?

AFTER

AFTER having thus made the tour of *Italy* and *Greece*, it is my intention on my return home to add perhaps some modern, particularly *British*, characters to this collection; and then to lay all these papers before some persons of real abilities of mind, and real goodness of heart; submitting them entirely to their judgment; and then (if after much correction they should think any part of them might by chance in any manner be made useful to such a purpose) send them to the press for the use of places of education, particularly that place to which in gratitude we are all so much obliged, WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.

Τοιμή

Θρεπτρα φίλη απέδωκε.

MISCELLA-

MISCELLANEOUS.

VERY different are the periods which different historians have given to the length of the history of the *Roman* empire. Some have considered its republican state, as alone worthy of the labours of an historian, and accordingly have concluded it at the battles either of *Pharsalia* or *Actium*: others have concluded it at the times of *Constantine*: others again at the times of the conquest of *Italy* and the western empire by the *Goths*: some have carried it still a thousand years lower, to the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*. Of these several periods, the most just seems to be that of the *Gothic* conquest, which happened near two hundred years after the death of *Constantius Chlorus*.

THE history of *Rome* thus limited, contains upwards of twelve centuries; during above half of which period, it is to be observed, that *Rome* includes in its history, as well as dominion, most of the nations of the then known and civilized world.

How ample a field is this for the collection of great and exalted characters of wisdom and virtue?

The

The compiler of the above lives has indeed the greatest reason to look back on his labours, and regret that his abilities were so far beneath the dignity of his subject.

FOR how much might the above collection be improved and enlarged? In the first place, how much better did the characters deserve to be treated of those great *Romans*, who were natives of *Italy*? As to this point, the compiler's only comfort is, that the materials of these are naturally so noble, that like statues of granite and porphyry, they must be always of some value, however coarse and bad his workmanship of them may be. But in the second place, how very deficient is this collection in the characters of those, who though natives of other countries, were subjects of *Rome*? In particular, how rich in these is the *Græco-Roman* history? yet how few of its worthies (not one besides *Plutarch*) are introduced here? The compiler hopes that by his future labours (viz. in the second book of this work, the subject of which is *Greece*) he may perhaps in some degree supply this great deficiency.

BUT in the vast extent and mass of the *Roman* empire, the noblest materials for the purpose of this work, the richest and purest vein of golden ore,

ore, that is to be found, is certainly the history of the primitive Christians: all of whom were subjects of *Rome*. Far be it from the compiler to imagine himself in the least degree equal or worthy of such an attempt!

ABOVE all, he must never dare to prophane with his touch those sacred characters, which adorned the *first* and apostolic age of the church. They are recorded, for the instruction of all generations, by the great assistant of St. *Paul*, St. *Luke*, in his history of the Acts of the Apostles, (particularly in the first chapter of it) and by St. *Paul* himself in his epistles, particularly in those to the *Philippians*, to *Timothy* and *Titus*.

THE *second* age of primitive Christianity is that, which comprehends the history of the church under the persecution of the *Roman* emperors, from the times of the apostles to those of *Constantine*. The *third* age is that of its outward prosperity, from the times of *Constantine* to the overthrow of the *Roman* empire by the *Goths*.

THE compiler did indeed intend to have attempted some of the characters of the *second* age of Christianity, and to have inserted them in this work, as a most noble appendix to that period of
the

the *Roman* history, which comprehends the times between *Titus* and *Constantius Chlorus*. Those of the *third* age would also have been the sole and ample subject of his labours and studies in that last period of the *Roman* history, which contains the two centuries between *Constantius Chlorus* and *Boetius*. But on entering on the subject, he was soon convinced how insufficient he was for such a work: a work which requires such extent of learning for collecting, and such strength of judgment for selecting proper materials; as well as such abilities of mind, and heavenliness of heart, for placing them in their real most exalted light.

AMONG the many able authors who have wrote on ecclesiastical history, there may perhaps have been some *judicious* hand which has employed itself in drawing up a short and spirited account of the characters of some few of the principal of these antient heroes of Christianity. The compiler would be very glad to be informed of this: as by introducing it in some manner into this work, he might (not only supply this great deficiency, but also) present *by it* a set of examples, far more free from defects, and far more exalted in virtues, than what he has been able to extract from *any other* part of the *Roman* history.

HE has this afternoon been walking alone for some time among the ruins of the great amphitheatre at *Rome*; the arena of which was stained with the blood of many saints and martyrs, particularly of *Ignatius*, disciple of *St. John*, and successor to *St. Peter* in the bishoprick of *Antioch*. In this solitary walk, he could not help earnestly wishing, that it was in his power, fully to contemplate in his own mind, and faithfully to represent to others, those illustrious characters of the second age of Christianity, which were so superior to all Pagan heroes in *fortitude* as well as in all other virtues. In such a work, how noble an use might be made of the sentiments in *Ignatius's* genuine epistle to the *Romans*?

NOR ought he to be much less desirous of informing himself, as well as his young reader, of the *real* virtues of the *succeeding ages* of the primitive church. Obscured as they are by the ignorance and superstition of the Gothic times, yet how bright do they still in many parts appear? For how much to be beloved is the *beneficence* of those characters, among whom we find a bishop of *Alexandria*, employing his *whole* income in charity; and declining (with tears of humility and kindness) the thanks of those who were so much obliged to him? *Quid mihi grates agitis? Quod feci nihil est: non enim adhuc*

ad hoc effudi meum sanguinem pro vobis, sicut mihi præceptum est à MAGISTRO meo. And how much to be revered is the piety of those times, of which so noble a monument remains to this day in the *English* liturgy? That sublime hymn, I mean; which, according to the *common* opinion, was breathed forth by the rapturous souls of St. *Ambrose* and St. *Austin*, united in this devotion. How fervently ought the *unworthy* compiler to wish to be permitted to conclude his work with the words of the authors of that celestial hymn? For himself beseeching *mercy*, and thus on bended knees transcribing their prayer.—*In Thee, O Lord, have I trusted: O let me not perish for ever!*—And for those, to whom he (though *most* *unworthy*) has in this work wished and laboured to be of some service!—*O help these Thy servants, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood! Govern them, and lift them up for ever! O make them all, and every one of them, to be numbered with Thy saints in glory everlasting!*

* * *

OBLIGED as the compiler is to omit, at least for the present, this part of his work, yet he cannot close these papers without adding two observations.

FIRST, That many examples are to be found not only in these primitive ages, but even in the more modern history of Christianity; which, by the most impartial judgment, far excell the most virtuous heathen characters either of *Rome* or *Greece*.

FOR Christianity has not only in fact greatly reformed the vices of the world in general, but also highly exalted the virtues of the best of men. Our own country has produced several examples of this; nor have the neighbouring regions of *Europe* been deficient.

THE second observation naturally flows from the former, viz. That during the decline of the *Roman* empire, which was so fruitful in great men, another society was forming of characters far more excellent: *The society of the church of CHRIST*; which has not only survived the utter fall of that great empire, (which was its birth-place, and which was perhaps indeed erected by Providence for that purpose) but still to this day remains in perhaps as flourishing a state as ever: unimpaired by the course of so many centuries, and protected indeed by HIM who has promised to be with it always, even to the end of the world.

LOOKING

LOOKING on *that heavenly object*, let us not regret the decline and fall of this the greatest and most long-lived dominion, which ever existed among men. But let us imitate the noble sentiments of that excellent *Italian*, the long-lived, but then dying *Cornaro**, on whose mind (according to some of his last words) a celestial immortality was continually opening itself; and whose soul by that high conception was so exalted, that it could not lower itself to the consideration of earthly and mean objects, such as is the decline and death of this body.

• Y. 3

CHAP.

• Vide Appendix to this Volume.



C H A P. VI.

FORTY-SECOND DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THERE is not perhaps any city in *Europe*, the entrance of which is designed with more magnificence, than that of *Rome* by the *Porta Flaminia*. The gate itself is, of the architecture of *Michael Angelo* and *Vignola**, and leads into a *Piazza*, where the two famous *Gemelli* churches appear in full front. Between, and on each side of these churches are three streight and level streets: that on the right leads to the magnificent *Ripetta* of the *Tiber*: that in the middle, above a mile in length, runs through the midst of the *Campus Martius*, and is terminated by the high buildings on the *Capitoline* hill: that on the left leads to the grand stair-case in the square of *Spain*,

* The materials of the outside of this gate are, in great part, marbles taken from the ruins of the neighbouring sepulchres of the two *Scipios*: uncle and father to the first *Africanus*, who where killed in *Spain*, but were honoured by pyramidal sepulchres erected to their memory in this part of the *Campus Martius*. (Vide *Silius Italicus*, lib. xiii.) It is probable, that these two noble sepulchres were erected by the piety of *Africanus* himself, though with the approbation of the *Roman* senate.

Spain, (antiently the *Naumachia* of *Domitian*) and was intended by the great embellisher of modern *Rome*, *Sixtus Quintus*, to have been joined to his long *Strada Felice*, and thus continued quite to the *Amphitheatrum Castrense*, forming one continued straight street of more than two *English* miles and an half in length.

In the middle of this *Piazza* rises a great *Egyptian* obelisk: in the view of which all these three streets nobly terminate. The shaft of this obelisk (which was originally one mass of granite) is eighty-two feet in height, and richly covered with hieroglyphics on all sides. Its granite basis is between twenty and thirty feet high, and still bears its antient grand inscription: *Imperator Augustus Caesar, Ægypto in potestatem populi Romani redactâ, Soli donum dedit.*

It was by the fountain, which rises at the foot of this obelisk, that the company stood conversing on the following Saturday morning; sometimes viewing the gate, at which they first entered, and where on Monday next they were to take their last leave of *Rome*: sometimes looking on that city, where they had passed so much time with such noble pleasure. It was not without a melancholy accent that one of the young gentlemen then repeated some of the words of *Virgil*, adapting them to the present occasion.

*Littora tum Latii lacrymans, portusque relinquo,
Et campos ubi Roma fuit. —————*

*————— Salve æternùm, mihi maxima Roma,
Æternùmque Vale ! —————*

It is, said he, an additional melancholy pleasure to us, that at the very time when we are leaving *Rome*, we are just brought by *Crito's* lectures to the history of the *period* of its antient greatness, *to the times of the decline and fall of all its glory*. How dreadful indeed was the spectacle of those times, when an *Alaric* or *Totilas* made their furious irruption *at this very northern gate*; and with an inundation of their barbarous subjects, overwhelmed or swept away all the riches and power, and (what is far more to be regretted) all the antient arts and sciences of this glorious city?

Excuse my folly, said *Crito's* pupil, if I trouble you with an account of a dream which I had some few nights ago,

I IMAGINED myself standing with this very company (from whom indeed the thoughts of my heart are hardly ever, whether sleeping or waking, divided) and in this very place: lamenting as now the fall of antient *Rome*. When on a sudden we saw a female figure before us; (such as we have often seen here in antient sculptures and paintings representing the *Dea Roma*)

we

we saw her, sitting by this fountain; not as formerly, like the tower-crowned *Cybele*,

——— *Qualis Berecynthia mater,
Læta Deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes,
Omnes cælicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.*

but sitting on the ground, despoiled of all her ornaments, and weeping over her dying sciences and arts; in vain endeavouring (like the *Medicean Niobe*) to save and defend some one of all these her numerous and most beauteous children. She sat, like *Niobe*, dumb also through grief.

WE stood for some time lamenting over her; when on a sudden we heard behind us the sound of the string of an harp. I thought at first that it had been the harp of *Spencer* *; but on turning round, we perceived to our great surprise that this sound proceeded from within the shaft of this obelisk, the top of which seemed just at that time to be illumined and gilded by the rising sun. This sound was succeeded by a voice which seemed also to proceed from within the same obelisk, but which was far more clear and distinct, than what ever was said to issue from the statue of *Memnon* †.

“ LAMENT

* Vide *Spencer's Poems on the Ruins of Rome, and of Time.*

† The statue of *Memnon*, which is still remaining near *Thebes*,
is

" LAMENT not, it said, the fall of *Rome*, that
 " proud city : lament not her, though once the
 " patroness of learning. Even *Thebes* is fallen,
 " that far more glorious city, the seat of the great
 " *Hermes*, and *original* source of all science to
 " mankind. But bewail not the fall either of
 " *Thebes* or *Rome*. Lift up your eyes to the view
 " of the history of the whole world in general :
 " and then fall prostrate before HIM, whose awful
 " name was in our language concealed under that
 " of the divine and immortal *Osiris*. Thankfully
 " adore his Providence ; by which science has not
 " been always partially confined to one or two
 " countries, but has in various ages been appointed
 " to visit and bless various regions ; and thus per-
 " haps, before the consummation of all things, will
 " have visited and illumined in its turn every
 " country on the face of the earth : even as (that
 " most glorious emblem of knowledge) the Sun
 " (to whom, and to philosophic literature, this
 " obelisk, of which I am the Genius, stands con-
 " secrated) has before the completion of its annual
 " course distributed an equal quantity of light to
 " the nations of every climate, from the equator
 " to both the poles.

" O THAT

is fabulously said to have spoken every morning, as soon as
 the rays of the rising sun struck on its head : *Strabo*, who pre-
 tends that he heard it, says, the sound was like that of the
 string of an harp.

" O THAT it was permitted for me to re-
 " move the vail that covers the face of the great
 " *Isis*! or to explain to you some fragments of the
 " wisdom of *Egypt*! But I, it is true, am the
 " inferior and junior of all the *Genii*, which pre-
 " side over the great obelisks of *Rome*; and
 " might much more properly refer you for such
 " instruction to the *Genius* of the *Lateran* (or
 " *Ramefseau*) obelisk, which is coæval with the
 " fall of *Troy*: or to the elder *Genius* of the
 " fortunate *Vatican*, (which is still entire, and
 " adorned now by a more glorious piazza, than
 " whatever surrounded it in *Egypt*, though it was
 " the work of the son of *Sesostris*) or rather to
 " that obelisk which is far the most noble and an-
 " tient of us all, (*more antient even than any of*
 " *the pyramids*) I mean my fellow-traveller, and
 " now near neighbour in this *Campus Martius*,
 " the obelisk of the great *Sesostris* himself. As
 " for myself, I can scarce pretend to any great
 " antiquity, being scarce more than twenty-four
 " hundred years old, which is equal to between
 " seventy and eighty of your transitory genera-
 " tions. Yet short as my experience has been,
 " my history may be instructive, at least to you,
 " O ye children of yesterday!

" I WAS born in the dregs of time, in the last
 " age of the long *Egyptian* history; if my memory
 " does

“ does not fail me, it was in the reign of *Psam-*
 “ *miticus* or *Amasis*, (about coæval with some of
 “ the first kings of *Rome*) thar I came out of our
 “ common mother’s womb, the antient cavern
 “ of the granite rock of *Syene*, near the holy
 “ island of *Philæ*, which is still covered with the
 “ most superb remains of the sepulchral temple
 “ of the great *Isis*. As soon as my sides were
 “ adorned with these sacred characters, (which
 “ still remain so fresh) I was floated down the
 “ *Nile*, from the cataracts to the level mea-
 “ dows of *Heliopolis*, which are now the suburbs
 “ of the modern *Cairo*. At *Heliopolis* I stood no
 “ more than six or seven centuries, being removed
 “ from thence to *Rome*, where I have been now
 “ scarce eighteen hundred years.

“ HAVING been originally consecrated to phi-
 “ losophic literature, it has been my chief plea-
 “ sure to contemplate the variations, the rise and
 “ decline of science in the various places and
 “ various ages of my life. In my first voyage
 “ from *Syene* to *Heliopolis*, I remember, that, in
 “ passing by *Thebes* and *Memphis*, I heard much
 “ complaint of the great decline of the wisdom
 “ and virtue of *Egypt*, and many (soon too fatally
 “ verified) prognostications of the speedy fall of
 “ that great state; that state, which in the glory
 “ of the antiquity of its history, in the glory of
 “ its

“ its universal reputation for wisdom and learning,
 “ and particularly for (that its peculiar honour)
 “ the invention of all arts and sciences, was far
 “ superior to any other country, which the sun
 “ ever saw.

Χαίρε, Χαίρε, Αἰγυπτος ἡ θρεψασα με*.

“ ON my arrival at *Heliopolis* I was visited and
 “ attentively viewed by the learned men of se-
 “ veral foreign regions, who were then travelling
 “ in *Egypt*. Those who were come from the
 “ *Euphrates*, and were natives of the *East*, spoke
 “ (as the *Egyptians*) of the decline of literature
 “ in their countries: whereas other strangers from
 “ the *North* and *West* (two particularly, whose
 “ names I remember were *Solon* and *Pythagoras*)
 “ joyfully expressed their hopes that science was
 “ arising in *Greece* and its colonies. The same ob-
 “ servation I heard in succeeding ages still more
 “ and more confirmed, by the conversation of se-
 “ veral *Grecians*; who, during the *Persian* govern-
 “ ment, visited the banks of the *Nile*, particu-
 “ larly *Herodotus* and *Hippocrates*, *Eudoxus* and
 “ *Plato*. How often did this last great man walk
 “ round my basis, measure my several proportions,
 “ and diligently study all the philosophic inscrip-
 “ tions on my sides?

“ THE

* Vide Epitaphium Isis apud Diodorum Siculum.

“ THE visits of these illustrious *Grecians* were
“ my greatest comfort during the first three centu-
“ ries of my life : most part of which time was past
“ under the *Persian* government. How frequently
“ did I then wish for some *Athenian Triremis*, to
“ remove me to their country, (then the most glo-
“ rious seat of science) and to place me in the
“ grove of *Academos*, or before the temple of the
“ goddess of wisdom in the *Acropolis* ; or in some
“ other *sacred* or *philosophical* part of that famous
“ city of the *Egyptian Cecrops*.

“ UNEXPECTEDLY a great revolution hap-
“ pened in learning as well as in empire. *Egypt*
“ was delivered from its *Persian* tyrants, the suc-
“ cessors of the cursed *Cambyzes* ; and *Greece* was
“ torn in pieces by the successors of *Alexander*
“ the Great. All its arts and sciences fled then
“ for refuge, as its gods did formerly during the
“ wars of the *Titans*,

“ *Ceruleum in gremium, latebrosaue flumina Nili.*

“ *EGYPT*, their original parent, became now
“ their protectress : and the *Ptolemies* in thus
“ patronizing learning began to rival the glo-
“ ry of our antient *Thebaic* and *Memphitic* so-
“ vereigns. With what pleasure did I then fre-
“ quently see on the banks of the *Nile*, *Aratus*,
“ *Theocritus*, and *Callimachus* ; and those far more
“ exalted

“ exalted characters, *Conon*, *Euclid*, and *Archimedes* ? But above all, *Demetrius Phalereus*, that
 “ real author of the musæum and library of *Alexandria*, which honoured *Egypt* almost as much
 “ as that of *Ofymanduas* antiently did, which was
 “ the first great public repository of the blessed
 “ medicines of the human mind, *ψυχης ἰατρειον*.
 “ Happy *Alexandria*, if thy princes had properly
 “ applied these medicines to their own minds, if
 “ they had added virtue to their love of science,
 “ and consequently the greatest hopes of stability to
 “ the happiness of themselves and of their people !

“ WHY should I relate what I saw during the
 “ next five hundred years ? Carried away captive
 “ from my native country, I had at least the satisfaction of entering *Rome* in the *Augustan* age,
 “ when all sciences were here so flourishing. But
 “ I soon found, that human greatness is equally
 “ short and transitory in all parts of the earth :
 “ in a few ages, knowledge and power declined
 “ and expired even here. But why should I repeat, what is the subject of such melancholy
 “ meditation to all travellers, who view here the
 “ mingled ruins of the arts of *Egypt*, *Greece*, and
 “ *Rome* ; and sometimes drop a tear on the broken
 “ colossal statues of the *Tiber* and *Nile*, which (not
 “ without reason) are joined together both on the
 “ *Vatican* and *Capitoline* hills ?

“ IN

“ IN the approach of those storms, which then
“ came on from the *North* with such thunder and
“ blackness, and threatened such desolation, if
“ then any gleam of comfort, any ray of hope
“ appeared, it was (I well remember) on that day,
“ when in the great *Circus* (of which the *Ramefsean*
“ obelisk and myself were then the ornaments)
“ *Boetius*, the last of the learned men of *Rome*,
“ met the *Gothic* conqueror, *Theodoric* : and with
“ the eloquence of another *Hermes*, converted
“ him from barbarism to the love and patronage of
“ science. But how short a time did that hope last ?
“ In some few years after the death of *Theodoric*,
“ and of that great and good man *Boetius*, other
“ inundations of more fierce barbarians came on :
“ *Genferic* from the *South*, and *Totilas* from the
“ *North*, with all the fury of a second *Cambyfes*.
“ It was then that all the *Egyptian* obelisks here
“ (except the fortunate *Vatican*) bowed our ve-
“ nerable heads to the dust, like a grove of *The-*
“ *baic* palms, torn up by two whirlwinds, driving
“ at the same time from the deserts both of *Lybia*
“ and *Æthiopia*.

“ WE lay buried, and with us all the arts and
“ sciences of the *West*, for near a thousand years.
“ During which time, the chief remains of the
“ learning of *Europe* were preserved in its native
“ spot, the dominions of *Greece*. The learning

“ too

“ too of *Asia* and *Afric* seemed (under the *Ara-*
 “ *bian* caliphs) to be reviving, in their native seats,
 “ the banks of the *Euphrates* and my beloved
 “ *Nile*. But the violence of the *Turkish* arms
 “ drove them all again westward.

“ ON the great revival of arts and sciences in
 “ the *West*, we also (as if we really were here the
 “ *talismans* of science) arose from the dust. We
 “ were re-erected by the great founder of the
 “ modern *Vatican* library; and it is with grateful
 “ pleasure that I bear on my basis his name, joined
 “ to that of *Augustus*, the founder of the scarce
 “ more famous *Bibliotheca Palatina*.

“ BUT now again I begin to hear of the decline
 “ of science in *Italy*; it is said, to be far more
 “ flourishing on the other side of the *Alps*, and
 “ particularly in your most extreme western parts
 “ of *Europe*; and likely to travel still further
 “ westward, even to those distant regions beyond the
 “ *Atlantic* ocean, which I suppose are the same
 “ with those famous great islands, about which I
 “ remember to have heard the priests of *Sais*
 “ discoursing with *Plato*.

“ HAPPY, happy *Britons*! whose country is the
 “ present seat of science; and whose colonies are
 “ the place to which it will probably next remove!

“ *HAPPY Britons!* in all the parts of *Europe*
 “ through which you have travelled hither, how
 “ have you heard your happy lot envied? how
 “ have you heard your country celebrated, and
 “ that not only for its wealth and power, but
 “ far more for its science, and the mother of its
 “ science, its liberty?”

“ *MAY* it be your particular felicity, O you
 “ rising generation of *Great Britain*, to be duly
 “ *thankful* for these great and so particular blessings!
 “ and, by your industry in the attainment of true
 “ wisdom and true virtue, (*those two greatest exal-*
 “ *tations of the human nature*) to render yourselves
 “ not unworthy of that glorious age and country,
 “ in which Providence has so beneficently ordained
 “ you to be born.”

* * *

THE company (having attended with great good-
 nature and patience to their young friend's ima-
 ginary dream) now proposed to make a visit to the
 neighbouring obelisk, which, as he had informed
 them, is the most antient of any in *Rome*. During
 their walk to that part of the *Campus Martius*,
 they conversed on the successive rise and fall of all
 those great antient seats of science, *Thebes*, *Mem-*
phis, *Alexandria*, *Babylon*, *Athens*, and *Rome* ;
 not

not without bestowing on their own country, that fond patriotic wish, *Esse perpetua!* But this partiality, however laudable and amiable, they could not refuse to lay aside: when they entered the little back court; in which they saw (*that strong emblem of the vanity of the greatest human grandeur*) that obelisk, to which the great and powerful *Sesostris* trusted so much for the preservation of the history of his glory, overturned, broken in many fragments, half covered with *dung*, and, on the whole, proportionally in as low a state of humiliation, as the glory of its founder was ever exalted, that proud and insolent man, who so arrogantly stiled himself, *king of kings*, and *lord of lords*. Two of its sides are entirely maimed and obliterated by fire, partly in the time of *Cambyzes*, partly in that of *Totilas*, partly in that of *Robert of Normandy*. On the other two sides, and on its top, the inscriptions and figures (*the most antient sculpture in the world*; though of such excellent workmanship, as plainly to demonstrate how much the *Grecian* and *Roman* sculptures were founded on that; which, in such very remote antiquity, so surprizingly flourished in *Egypt*, yet) as to their sense and meaning, have been become, now and for many centuries past, utterly unintelligible.

SUCH, said *Crita*, (fixing his eyes on these ruins) *such* is become the monument and memorial of

the proudest of kings! How awful is this spectacle? and how instructive; not only to the philosophic moralist, but even to the most humble and mortified saint? But what, (continued he, after some short but solemn pause) what is become of the empire of *Egypt* itself? Ruined, like this obelisk; and fallen, never to rise again. An example for ever to mankind, that no strength of situation, (for *Egypt* was almost as well situated as any *island*) no abundance of populousness or power, of wealth or science, is able to secure a nation from ruin and perpetual servitude; whenever (as was the case in the decline of *Egypt*) the people shall for the love of luxury quit the love of virtue; and the governors shall think wisdom to be consistent with self-interest and pride: thus despising God, and injuring mankind; instead of labouring with joy, as benefactors to their fellow-creatures, and as dutiful servants to their great and common CREATOR. Saying this, *Crito* looked with his usual kindness on his pupil, and repeated to him the following most poetic lines of the *Hebrew* prophet; leaving him to judge, to which of the *great modern* cities of the world they might be most applicable.

*Art thou better than the populous city of Ammon?
She that was seated among the waters:
The river of Egypt was her defence;*

The

*The sea was her dominion, and her riches.
Lybia and Afric were her helpers :
Ethiopia and Egypt were her infinite strength.
Yet even she went into captivity :
Even she was destroyed utterly. &c.*

BUT let us think of the business of the day : the character of that philosopher, who was an eye-witness of the fall of *this* great imperial city, in which we now are. St. *Austin* indeed and St. *Jerom* were both contemporary with *Alaric*, its first conqueror or ravager ; (and, if I had been sufficiently learned in the history of my profession, perhaps I might now have read to you some abridgment of one of the characters of those famous *Latin* fathers of the church) but it was not till the time of *Boetius*, that *Rome* was firmly subjected to the sceptre of a *Gothic* king.

BOETIUS.

*Venit summa dies, & ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniæ. Fuimus Troes ; fuit Ilium, & ingens
Gloria Teucrorum.*

BOETIUS lived in that most remarkable age, when the glory of the *Roman* empire fell, never to rise again. His own fortune too was like that of his country : *sed neque magnæ publicæ, neque*

magnæ privatæ calamitates frangere potuerunt invictum ejus animum.

IF in those times *Ætius* or other Roman generals acquired such honour in supporting the power of the Roman state, then in the struggles of its last agonies, *Boetius* certainly gained much greater honour by supporting (what was much more valuable to the world) *its arts and sciences*; and preserving alive that lamp of literature which in him shone so bright, but soon after his decease died away almost to its last spark; leaving all the western regions of *Europe* in the deepest and darkest ignorance. *Britain* was already over-run by the *Picts* and *Saxons*, *Gaul* by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, *Spain* by the *Vandals*, *Italy* by the *Goths*, *Rome* itself conquered several years past by *Alaric*, when the young *Boetius* (not discouraged by the inundation of such barbarism) began to apply himself most earnestly to study.

HIS studies resembled the present course of education. He first made himself in great degree master of the purity of the antient *Latin* language, as well as of the *Greek*; and then applied to the sciences. He studied *Euclid*, and published some of his works: he is said indeed to have advanced so far in the mathematics, as to have treated on the squaring of the circle. He made also a surprizing progress

progress in arithmetic and music. He translated the geography and astronomy of *Ptolemy*, and the mechanics of *Archimedes*; and this at a time, when the sovereigns of some of the greatest provinces of the *Roman* empire, had not one among their subjects, who knew even how to make a common hour-glass. (A letter from the king of *Burgundy* to *Boetius*, desiring of him such a present, as an unknown curiosity among his subjects, is still in being.) All these his studies were but as a preparation to a greater labour, that of translating, explaining, and reconciling with *Plato*, the whole works of *Aristotle*, whether in logics, ethics, or natural philosophy.

SUCH were his studies. His rank in life was of the highest. When an infant, he was left an orphan; but his education was greatly taken care of by the principal persons at that time in *Rome*, on account of his illustrious family; he being descended from the antient *Manlii Torquati*, and his grandfather being the celebrated *Anicius*.

HE rose afterwards to the highest dignities of the state: was himself three times consul, and lived to have the peculiar honour and pleasure of seeing both his sons invested at one and the same time with that high dignity. He was appointed by the senate as the most proper person to receive

Theodoric, king of the *Goths*, at his first entrance into *Rome*, and accession to the government of *Italy*. In these high offices and honours of the state, as, on one hand, he was far from thinking that the prosecution of his learned studies, and the supporting of the cause of literature, was inconsistent with them; so, on the other hand, he always most nobly supported all the other possible duties of his station. There was not indeed at that time any power in the *Roman* state to resist the conqueror; but *Boetius* did what he could: he exerted the greatest intrepidity in supporting the dignity of his office; he shewed the most remarkable fortitude, as well as humanity, in protecting (as far as was in his power) the public, as well as many particulars, from the rapine and oppression of several of the *Gothic* generals, and even of the king *Theodoric* himself.

THERE is something so curious and instructive in the history of that monarch, that it may be useful, perhaps, to introduce here a short character of him; at least, to recollect the circumstances of his life, which we read together at *Ravenna*.

HHE began his reign over *Italy* very badly, with all the cruelty and oppression of a barbarian; but afterwards, by applying himself to imitate the characters of the great and virtuous antient *Roman* emperors,

perors, he totally changed his conduct, and became the father of *Rome*.—*Theodorico Rege, felix Roma!* No *Titus*, *Antoninus*, or *Aurelius*, ever did more good to this city or this country, *quàm hic alienus*. Brave he was in war, beneficent in peace: pious in his own religion, yet not a persecutor of others: but labouring to encrease the present and future happiness of all his subjects: just and merciful in his own temper, and vigilant and industrious in exercising these virtues for the benefit of his subjects: temperate and frugal in his private life: magnificent in public works: full of magnanimity: blessing and protecting all *Italy* in all its distresses, and quieting the confusions and disorders of many of the other provinces of the *Roman* world. Such was the *middle* and glorious part of *Theodoric's* reign. Unhappily, jealousies and suspicions still remained between the *Romans* and *Goths*. The *Romans* could not bear the thoughts of being subject to any *Gothic* prince, however excellent: and *Theodoric* knowing this temper, had not the firmness and perseverance of mind to continue to do good to them, notwithstanding their ingratitude. His benevolence failed him: he imprisoned many of the principal *Romans*, (several of whom were innocent) and among these even his great friend and favourite *Boetius*. After having confined him in prison for several years, he proceeded in cruelty so far as to order his execution. But soon after *Boetius* was

was beheaded, *Theodoric* himself died (*penitentia ac doloris magnitudine obiit*) in the greatest horrors of conscience, for having fallen back from so good and glorious a character, as he had obtained in the middle years of his reign.

SUCH was the famous *Theodoric*. But how much really greater, how much more truly to be envied, is the character of *Boetius*? for his life may in some sense be called the height of human dignity, seeming to be one constant scene of virtue, uniform from its beginning to its end. Even during his nine years imprisonment, he ceased not to do great good in his proper sphere of usefulness, his literary labours.

It may indeed be observed from this as well as from many other examples, how particularly the calamities of learned men are often (much more than their prosperities) highly serviceable and truly glorious to themselves, to their countries, and to the world in general. *Boetius* was certainly a far greater benefactor to mankind, when in his prison at *Pavia*, (the place of the tower, in which he was confined, is still shewn there by the inhabitants) than when in his consular palace at *Rome*. His mind grew there daily still more and more exalted; for he conversed not with the living, but with the great dead, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and
Tully.

Tully. In this confinement he is said to have translated, for the benefit of his countrymen, in their own language, the whole of *Plato's* works: he composed also many treatises on different parts of the Christian theology; several of which are still remaining.

BUT the work, by which he most benefited posterity, and which perhaps was most serviceable to himself, while employed in it, were his five famous books *de Consolatione*.

THIS treatise is so well known*, that a particular account of it will not perhaps be expected here: at least the omission of such an account will be pardoned. Yet, give me leave, my dear friends, to recollect the pleasure which we had in perusing it together in that very city, where it was originally wrote. How pleasant, how blessed was that part of our *Italian* travels, while we passed by the level meadows and plentiful streams of *Lombardy*; that most beautiful and fertile country, which spreads from the lake of *Como* (antiently called *Larius*) to *Milan*, and from *Milan* to *Pavia*? How happily were our thoughts then employed, sometimes

* It has been translated into all *European* languages; being universally admired even during the darkest ages of *Gothic* ignorance. It is remarkable, that it then was translated into *English* by the hands of the two great founders of the *British* dominion, and literary glory, king *Alfred*, and the poet *Chaucer*.

sometimes on the amiable characters of *Pliny* and his *Virginus Rufus*; sometimes on those, still more amiable, of *Austin* and *Borromeo*; (all natives or inhabitants of that region) sometimes, particularly when at *Pavia*, on this very character of *Boetius*? With what satisfaction did we, while resident in that city (which is one of the most antient universities of *Italy*, and seems indeed particularly favourable to quiet study) read there this his philosophical treatise? A satisfaction, abated indeed on one hand by the obscurity of some of its parts, but highly encreased on the other by the observation, of which it seems particularly proper to take notice here: *viz.* That this work, as it appears at present, is not complete; in several passages of those five books, the author seems to hint his further design of searching for the still greater sources of consolation in *another* science. He particularly calls this his philosophy, *Veri prævia luminis*. Probably he lived not long enough to finish, or at least to publish his sixth book, in which (all-inflamed by the spirit of the piety of his great master, St. *Austin*) he might so nobly have displayed the *far superior consolatory principles* of Christianity. For blessed, as *Boetius* was, with such strength of wisdom, as well as with such zeal in the cause of the holy Christian faith, it is certain, that he *must* have found such religious considerations to be the firmest supports to him in all calamities, whether public

public or private; he *must* have found the light of religion (that truest and greatest philosophy) to be the most proper light for reviewing and rightly judging of whatever had happened to himself, as well as of all the prosperities and adversities of his country; which then (fallen from such an height) lay before his eyes in such desolation, covering with its ruins the noblest provinces of *Europe, Asia, and Afric.*

Alas! alas! that mighty city!
She that reigned over all the kings of the earth!
Who is it, that has formed this destruction against her?
The Lord of Hosts. — He hath purposed it:
To stain the pride of all human glory,
And to bring into contempt all the honourable of the
earth.

LET us, arrived now at this period, the period of the most mighty dominion which ever existed, pause a while at this awful spectacle! May the closing of this great scene have its due and deeply-imprinted effect on our minds!

ROME, all its pride and all its power, are now no more. But let us remember, that the memory of its virtuous sons still remains in full glory: the high examples of virtue, which in
different

different ages it brought forth, are still the admiration and (what is far more) the instruction of the world. These will, in the sight of all future generations, continually encrease in splendor; while the ruins of its other magnificence become every day still more and more ruined; and while even already scarce one stone of its antient grandeur is left on another, either on the *Capitol* or pompous *Palatine*.

SPECTATORS of the dust and ashes, which once was *Rome*, (dust, worms, and ashes as we are ourselves) with what great consolation ought we to turn our thoughts, to the regions of immortality and eternity; (not those poetic regions, in which your youthful imaginations might describe a *Numa* and *Fabritius*, a *Rutilius*, *Thraseas*, and *Antonine* now conversing, but according to the far more sublime style of that sacred profession, in which I am unworthy to bear the least office) those glorious mansions unto which no change or decay shall ever draw near, *whose foundations are everlasting, and whose builder and maker is God, the God of all true comfort and holy hope*; those glorious mansions of just men now made perfect, of all those who have been the true honour of all the nations, and several ages of the world; that *celestial city*, to which the Almighty (may I be pardoned if I speak too presumptuously) has really declared his gracious
and

and eternal protection, as some of your *Roman* poets falsely imagined of this *Rome*.

*Huic ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono;
Imperium sine Fine Dedi.*

O my dear friends, give me leave to recollect that serene and happy summer's evening, which we passed in walking in the meadows of *Pavia*, viewing on one side the place of the prison of *Boetius*; and on the other side, the fields where that famous king of *France*, *Francis I.* was utterly defeated and made captive. Let us recollect with what pleasure we then sat down on the flowery bank of the *rapid Tessin*, and reflected, that surely (next to the banks of the *Tiber*) that *Lombard* landscape must be one of the most proper places for the meditation of the instability of all human grandeur; grandeur, which withereth like any flower of the field, and passeth as swiftly away as any torrent. On our return from that evening walk, we entered into the church which is said to contain the humble sepulchres both of *Boetius*, and also (according to the testimony of *Bede*) of his great master *St. Austin*. Standing by the first of these, you repeated several of the melancholy poetic lines of *Boetius's* complaints; my thoughts in the mean time, as well as my eyes, were turned towards the supposed tomb, and towards the exalted meditations of his master. O
summa

*Veritas! Ne permittas me in aliquâ consolâ-
tione vanâ consolari; sed peto, ut omnia potius mihi
amarefcant, ut tu sola dulcis appareas animæ meæ. —*

*O Hierusalem Cælestis, Domus Dei æterna, post
CHRISTI dilectionem, Tu esto letitia & Consolatio
mea! Dulcis memoria tui beati nominis sit relevatio
mærorum, tædiorumque meorum! Libet sanè de te loqui,
de te audire, de te scribere, de te conferre, de tuâ
beatitudine quotidie legere, & læta sæpius corde re-
volvere; ut vel sic possim ab hujus mortalis perituræque
vitæ ardoribus, periclis, & sudoribus sub tuæ vitalis
auræ dulci refrigerio transire, & transiens in sinu tuo
fessum caput dormiturus vel paululum reclinare, — ut
tali modo tuâ dulcedine degustatâ, minus hujus vitæ
amaritudines sentiam. —*

*Et Tu, PARACLETE SANCTE SPIRITUS, jam
cordis mei penetralibus potenti illabere virtute, & in
sanctâ tuâ Consolatione nos letari semper concede. Ne
relinquas, precor, indignum servum tuum; neque be-
nedictionem unquam & requiem, pacemque tuam cæ-
lestem auferas a nobis! Sed Veni, Benignissime dolentis
animæ Consolator! Veni, Mundator Scelerum, pæ-
nitentium relevator, doctorque humilium! Veni, O
omnium viventium, morientiumque unica Salus! Veni,
SANCTISSIME SPIRITUS! Veni & miserere mei!*

vi.

a-
bi

est
io
io
ii,
na
e-
ue
lis
up
ut
te

m
in
Ne
e-
e-
tis
e-
O
ii,